

LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS.

BY

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PREFACE.

(By E. J. RAPSON, M.A.)

THE papers collected together in this volume appeared periodically in the *Numismatic Chronicle* during the years 1893 and 1894. The last of the series, which deals with the history and numismatics of the White Huns, was published after the author's death; but, as it is practically a reprint of an article included in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1892*, it, too, may be said to have had the benefit of his final revision.

General Sir Alexander Cunningham has elsewhere treated of the earlier foreign settlers—Greeks, Sakas, and Kushâns—the traces of whose dominion in India have afforded so much help in the recovery of its lost history. He here extends this investigation to the later and less-known Indo-Scythian dynasties, whose dates range from about the end of the second century to the middle of the seventh century A.D. Of the coinages of these later Indo-Scythian rulers no scientific classification has previously been attempted. The arrangement here proposed marks a distinct advance in Indian chronology, for which students of Indian history and archæology will be grateful.

No careful reader of the following pages can fail to recognise in this, the author's last work, the qualities which characterise everything that he wrote—his unequalled knowledge of Indian numismatics, his intimate acquaintance with the many sources from which has been gleaned whatever is now known of the history of Ancient and Mediæval India and his great natural acumen

I have added an Index, which I hope will facilitate reference to the work

BRITISH MUSEUM

7th Feb, 1893

[The thanks of the late Genl Sir Alexander Cunningham's sons are due to Mr E J Rapson for his care in preparing the Table of Contents, Preface and Index of this work, and thereby rendering it more useful to readers]

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ERRATUM

P 9 line 24 *for* Aswabeus *read* Aswakas

LATER INDO SCYTHIANS

(See Plates VIII —X)

INTRODUCTION

THE earliest immigrations which have left any permanent traces in India were made from the north east by the Dravidians, who occupied Southern India, and from the north-west by the Brahuīs who occupied the country on the Lower Indus. They were followed by the Aryas, who overran all Northern India, and introduced the Brahmanical religion, which still exists, though in a much altered form.

The Persian invasions of Cyrus and Darius, and the Greek invasion of Alexander affected only the valley of the Indus and its tributaries. Each occupation lasted for only a few centuries. But the successive Scythian invasions of the *Sakas*, the *Kushans*, and the *White Huns*, were followed by permanent settlements of large bodies of their countrymen, which lasted for many centuries, and which can still be traced in the names of the countries which they occupied. Thus the name of the *Sakas* was imposed on Drangiana as *Sakastene*, now Sistan, and their language was still spoken in the tenth century as the *Sakri*. The name of the *Kushans* is still preserved in the *Koresh* tribes of Kāfiristan under their ruler, "*Shah Kīlor*," and their language is still spoken as the *Kūfir*. The name of the *Jubuk* tribe of White Huns is still preserved in Zābul

istan, and their language still existed in the tenth century as the *Zâulî*.

The history of these three races can be traced from the date of their first appearance down to the present day. But there are other foreign races in the north-west of India, the date of whose occupation is quite unknown. The best known and the most numerous of these foreign races are the *Gakars*, the *Jâts*, the *Gujars*, and the *Ahîrs*.

The *Gakars* declare that they came from *Kaiân*, in *Khorasân*, in the time of Afrasiâb. They claim descent from *Kid* or *Kaid*, and assert that they held Kashmir for sixteen generations. Their first appearance under their present name was in the reign of Mahmud of Ghazni, whom they opposed with thirty thousand men, as allies of Anang-pâl. In A.D. 1205 they killed Muhammad Ghorî in his tent on the banks of the Indus; and half a century later they offered a most stubborn resistance to the Emperor Balban. They were at last subdued, and their ruler, *Kohâr Sanhâ*, became a Musulmân. In the beginning of the sixteenth century they opposed Bâber, but were reduced to submission. The whole of the hilly country between the Indus and Jhelam, known better by the name of the Jûd Mountains, or Mount Jûd, was then held by "two races descended from the same father, who from old times had been rulers of the hills between Nilâb and Bhira" "On one half of the hill" (say Bâber) "lived the Jûd, and on the other half the Janjûha" The people here called the *Jûd* must be apparently the *Gakars*, as Bâber adds that they and the Janjûhas were "old enemies." At that time the chief of the *Gakars* bore the title of *Malik Hast*, which was an old designation, as I find it used by the bard Chand in his *Prithi-Râj Râsa*, under the slightly altered form of the "*Gakar Malik Hath*." No

derivation is given for the name, but I think it probable that the Gakars may be the *Gargaridæ* of Alexander's historians¹ *Gharghara*, the "rumbler or gurgler," is the Sanskrit name of the *Gagar* or *Kagar* River, near Ambâla, and of the *Ghagra* River of Oudh. This title of *Hast* or *Hath* is probably connected with the *Hyst* of *Hystaspes*, the *Vist* of *Vistaspa* and with the *Bist* of *Bistax*, and the *Vit* of *Vitaxv*, which was a royal title, as Hesychius says, ο Βασιλεὺς παρὰ Περσῶν. It was equivalent to the Indian *Asvapati*, "lord of horses," a common title for kings. Another form is ΠΙΤΥΑΞΗΣ. The title of *Mahî Hast*, or *Hath*, gives a strong support to the claim of the Gakars as immigrants from Khorasân. The same name is applied to the Gândgarh, or *Ghargar* Mountains, to the north west of Râwal Pindî, from which *rumbling* sounds are believed to issue from imprisoned demons. From this mountain the *Galars* may have received their names, just as they got the name of *Jud* from the Muhammadans. But if there is any truth in their claim to be immigrants from Khorasân, *Galars* could not have been their original name. They were probably *Abars* from *Abar shahî* (or Nishapur), the old capital of Khorasan, and it is not impossible that they may have been a colony transported by Darius into the Panjab to hold his new Indian conquest. The earliest settlement is said by some to have been at *Abriyan* or *Abarân*.

The *Jâts* in old times are said to have divided Sindh with the Meds. They are now very numerous in the Panjab, and in the districts to the east of the Satlej, and they form the bulk of the Sikh nation. Lassen has iden-

¹ Dionys, *Perieg.* V. 1144 mentions the *Garjanidæ* after the Peukaneî and Toxîli.

tified them with the *Jarttilas* of the Mahabhârata, before the Christian era. Perhaps they may be the *Iatu* of Pliny. Our first notices of the *Jats* are due to the plundering raids made by the early Muhammadans of Sistan and Mekran into Sindh in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. At that time the kingdom of Sindh embraced the whole valley of the Indus and its tributaries from the foot of the Kashmir Mountains to the sea, and from the east direct to the borders of Mekran and Khorasân. Sindh here divided into four provinces—I Multan on the north, II Brâhmanâbâd on the south, III Ashkalanda on the east, and IV Sivistan on the west. The most exposed province was *Kilân*, which formed the southern part of Sivistan. Its capital was, Kandâbil or Gandhâva, with Kosdar on the south and Kilât on the west. This district was famous for a fine breed of large horses, which are specially noted by the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, as well as by the Muhammadan historians. The people are called *Jâts* and *Meds*, and as they are described as *Samânis*, or Buddhists I infer that to their religious belief was due the name of *Buddha* for the district.

The *Jâts* and *Meds* are described in the *Muymalat Tawârîkh* as being the most ancient inhabitants of the country. In the notices of the early Muhammadan writers the former would appear to have been more numerous in the north and west, while the latter, who stretched down to the sea, held the east and south. It seems probable, therefore, that the *Meds* may have given their name to *Medapata*, or *Mevâr*, and that their present representatives may be the *Meis* of *Merwân* in the Aravali range of mountains. The *Jâts*, who are all Muhammadans, are still very numerous in the Panjab, and along the Indus, while the Indian branch, or *Jâts*, who are all Hindus, are very

numerous between the Satlej and the Jumna. The Sikh Rajas of Patiāla, Jhind, and Nabha are Jāts, and so are the Raja of Bharatpur and the Rāna of Dholpur on the Chambal.

The name of Kikān or Kaikān, or Kailānān I believe to be as old as the time of Darius, in whose inscription there is mention of a fort in Arachosia called *Kāpishkānish*, where the rebel Veisdatu fought a battle with the Satrap Vibanus. As the Greek *Kambistholi* and the Sanskrit *Kapishthala* have been shortened to *Kaithal*, so *Kailān* may be accepted as a regular abbreviation of the Persian *Kāpishkānish* and the Scythian *Kāppissākānis*. As it was a fort I would identify it with *Kīlāt*, the capital of Baluchistān. The rebel Satrap also fought a second battle in Arachosia at *Gadutara*, or *Kauturata*, which I would identify with *Gandāra* of the present day, and with *Kandūbil* of the early Muhammadan writers.

The *Gujars* are scattered all over the Panjāb and the Gangetic Provinces. Their chief settlement was in the province which was named after them *Gurjarāshtra*. In the Panjāb their name still survives in the town of *Gujarāt*.

The *Ahirs* are also scattered over Northern India. Their full name was *Abhira*, which they still held in the time of Alexander, who found them on the Lower Indus. The only place that now bears their name is the district of *Ahricara*, in the Gwalior territory. General Baptiste changed the name to *Isagarh*, but the people adhere to the old name.

The date of the great Aryan migration, which gave the dominant races to Persia and India, is uncertain. Roughly, it may be placed some twenty centuries before the Christian era. In Persia the Aryas were firmly

settled in all the provinces. We find them in Media, Hyrkania, and Khorasmia, in Bactria and Sogdiana, and in Aria, Drangiana, and Arakhosia. In India we find them in the people of Gândhâra and Sattagydia in the Assakanî of the Kabul valley, and in the descendants of *Jayâti* (or Gegasios, Γηγάσιος), the Yâdavas, the Pauravas, and the Anavas of the Panjâb.

From *Iadu* sprang the *Asvakas* or *Assalanî*, who have been identified by Professor Lassen with the Aoghâns or Afghans. From *Puru* came the *Pândaras* (the *Pandorî* of Ptolemy), and the *Paurava* king *Porus*, whose posterity are now represented by the *Pandara* Rajputs of the Panjâb hills. From *Anu* sprang the *Anara* tribes of the *Sauiras*, the *Kaileyas* and the *Madras*, with the *Yaudheyas* and their kinsmen the *Janjuhas*. The *Sauiras* of Sindhu Suvira most probably gave their name to Σαφίρ, or *Ophir*. The *Madras* gave their name to *Madr-des*, which is still used for the Doâb between the Chenâb and Ravi, which Akbar afterwards called the *Richna Doâb*. The *Yaudheyas* or *Jodhiyas* are now the *Johiyas* of the Salt Range and the Lower Panjâb, where the tract above Multan is still called the *Johiya-bâr*. The *Janjuhas* still exist under the same name, or in its shortened form of *Janûha*, in the district of *Potauar*, between the Indus and the Jhelam.

The Aryan settlements in North India were still incomplete in the time of the Vedas and the Mahâbhârata, or from about B.C. 1500 to 1200, when their territories were bounded by the *Karmanâsa* River (or *Karmnâsa*) in the east, and by the *Varnanâsa* River (or *Banâs*) on the south. The passage of both these streams was forbidden to the Aryas, as the crossing of the first would be the "destroyer" (*nasa*) of *Karma*, or good works, and the

crossing of the second would be the destroyer of *rarna*, or "caste." The prohibition about the *Karmudsa* survived in full force down to the present century, when villagers were still employed to carry passengers over the stream, to save them from getting wetted. Their employment has ceased since the bridge was built.

Before the irruptions of the Indo Scythians the valleys of the Oxus, the Helmand, and the Indus had been overrun by Cyrus, by Darius, and by Alexander, and to their expeditions is due almost all our early knowledge of those countries. Briefly they may be described as comprising Bactriana, Ariana, and North-west India.

The earliest notices that we possess are the campaigns of Cyrus, and the inscriptions of Darius. Kapisa, the capital of Kapissene, in Ariana, is said to have been destroyed by Cyrus, while the Assakeni, to the west of the Indus, are said to have submitted to him and paid tribute.² But in his campaign against the Sacæ, or Sakas, on the Jaxartes, he was defeated, and either killed or captured. Herodotus calls these Scythians Massagetæ, but he admits that some regard them as Sacæ, or Sakas.³ Ktesias calls them Sacæ, and gives the names of their king and queen as Amorges and Sparethra. From the name of the king I infer that his people were the Amurgu Scythæ of Herodotus and the *Sala Humauarla* of the inscriptions of Darius. The queen is named Tomyris by Herodotus and her son Spargapeises. The two names of *Sparethra* and *Spargapeises* I would compare with *Spala hoia*, *Spalirisha*, *Spalgatama*, and *Sapalcica* of our well-

² Plin. Nat. Hist. vi. 25 and Arrian. Indica I.

³ Herodotus I. 205 calls the queen Tomyris. Ktesias alone calls her Sparethra.

known Saka coins, and I conclude that the Saka-Scythians of the Jaxartes, with whom Cyrus came into contact, were the ancestors of the *Sakas* who long afterwards established themselves in Sakastene or Scjistan, and not the *Massagetæ*

With the inscriptions of Darius, B.C. 520—490, we reach the firmer ground of real history. He was an administrator as well as a conqueror, and every country that he subdued was added permanently to the Persian empire. In the Naksh-e-Rustem inscription he names the eastern provinces in the following order —

Parthia, Aria, Bactriana, Sogdiana, Khorasania; Zarangia, Arakhosia, Sattagydia; Gandaria, India

The revenue of each province was fixed, and governors were appointed, and about one century and a quarter later the whole empire passed into the possession of Alexander

Before invading India Alexander the Great conquered Bactria and Sogdiana, where he came in contact with the *Massagetæ* and *Dahæ*. The *Assakanî* then held the greater part of the Kabul Valley, with Massaga as their capital.⁴ They possessed a large army of 20,000 horse, 30,000 foot, and 30 elephants. Their king Assakanus was killed in battle, and their queen Kleophis then surrendered the capital. Two brothers, named Kophæus and Assagetes, came in. As *Assagan* is only a plural form, meaning the nation or people called *Assakas*, or *Assakās*, or the "Horsemen," it was suggested by Lassen that the *Assaganî* were the actual ancestors of the present Afghans. In support of this suggestion I can refer to the fact that the people generally do not call themselves *Afghāns*, but

⁴ *Arrian Anab.* iv. 25, 26, and *Indica*, i.

Aoghâns, and that the Albanians are called *Aoghans* by the Armenians

As the Sanskrit *asica* becomes *equus* in Latin, as *sicasri* becomes *khwar*, or *khor*, in Pushtu, and as *Saraswati* becomes *Arakhoti* and *Haralhaiti*, so *Asicagan* became *Akhicagân*. In fact the old form of Afghân was Aoghân, and both Timur and his secretary write Aoghânî, and even Aghânî. The change from *l* to *gh* by the Armenians is found also in *Vagharsh*, for the Persian *Balash*.

I find that the name of *Albania* is given by Pliny to the country of the Indian Sophytes⁵. As the salt mines were in his territory, the name must have been applied to the country between the Jhelam and the Indus, and as the salt mines are found also at Kâlâbâgh, the name of *Albania* may have included territory to the west of the Indus.

According to Ammianus there were Alani, or Albani, to the east of the Caspian. When war broke out between Persia and Rome in the time of Sapor II, the Persian king was absent in his north-east frontier in hostilities with the Chionitæ and Albani. Both nations had powerful kings, and in the subsequent siege of Amida in A.D. 358, Sapor was very greatly assisted by their troops⁶.

It is in favour of the original name of Aswabeus that several districts in Afghanistan were famous for their breed of horses. Thus—

• (1) *Bannu*, the *Falana* of Hwen Thsang, gave its name to the "*Vanayu ja* horses," which were much esteemed.

(2) On the eastern side of the Indus lies the district of *Dham*, where Runjit Singh had a breeding stud. Pânini

⁵ *Pliny Nat. Hist.* viii 61, and *Strabon* xv 1—80.

⁶ *Ammian Marcel* xviii 6, 21, and xix 2, 3.

calls the country *Farnu*, with a river of the same name, which is the Bannu River of the present day

(3) When in Falana, the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang notes that on the west, in *Ki-liang-na*, the people had an immense number of sheep and horses, and that the horses were of large size and excellent. A few years later the early Muhammadan invaders were continually making raids into Kikân, or Kaikân, for the purpose of obtaining some of these famous steeds. Thus, in A.D. 664, Muhallab, when in Kikân, saw eighteen Turki horsemen on crop-tailed horses. The men fought with great gallantry, which Muhallab attributed to their horses, and accordingly *he docked the tails of all his own horses*. A few years later Abdullah presented a Kikân horse to the Khalif. Perhaps the name may have some connection with *Al-latâ*, a "horse." It is not improbable that it may be the mediaeval form of *Kapishkanish*, a fort in Arakhosia, held by a rebel against Darius. In the same way that the Sanskrit *Kapisthala* has been shortened to *Kaithal*, so *Kapishkanish* may have become *Kaikân*, or *Kailâna*.

(4) Ferrier notices (*Afghans*, p. 297) the "splendid animals" of *Herat* and *Hazâra*, which are taken to India for sale to the cavalry and artillery.

At the present day all the people of Afghanistan, from the Indus on the east to the Heri-Rûd River on the west, speak Pushtu, or Pakhtu. But the clan which bears the name of Pushtun, or Pakhtun, claims to be distinct as the original speakers of the language. It is even affirmed that all the other clans who speak Pushtu are immigrants who have adopted the language. The name of *Paktûîc*, or *Palhtunka*, we know to be as old as the time of Darius, but the name of *Assakan* is equally old, and as the districts of the Paktjans and of the Assakan were in

Gāndhāra, the language of both peoples was most probably the same

But there is mention by Ktesias of another clan who must also have belonged to Gāndhāra. These are the *καλιστριοι*, whose name is said to mean "dog-headed," or *αυνοκέφαλοι*. I accept the name of *Kalustru* for reasons which I will give presently, and I look upon the asserted translation of "dog's head" as a mere nickname—perhaps by a slight alteration of a well-known Indian descriptive term. Thus *asīcamukha*, or "horse-headed," might with some reason have been applied to the Eastern Ethiopians, who wore the scalps of horses for their head dress, with the ears erect. By omitting the initial letter, the term would become *sīca mukha*, or "dog-face." But whatever may have been the origin of the nickname of "dog's-heads," it is quite certain that *Kalustru* could not have that meaning. But Pliny mentions a people on the Lower Indus called *Salabastræ*, or *Arabastræ*, whose name might be the Indian *Kāla rastra*, or "Black vests," synonymous with the Persian *Sīya pash*, which is still applied to those people in Afghanistan who wear "black sheep skin" dresses. As Ktesias specially notes that the name was given to them by the Indians, the derivation from *Kāla rastra*, or "Black-vests," seems a very natural one. Other details which Ktesias gives seem to fix the country of the *Kalustru* beyond all possibility of doubt. "They inhabit," he says, "the mountains and extend as far as the river Indus." These mountains were "steep and pathless." The river *Hyparkhos* (Pliny says *Hypobares*¹) flowed through their country. As this name is said to mean *φερμι παντα τὰ αγαθα*, its more correct form would be

¹ Pliny Nat Hist xxxvii. 2

Tubares, in Sanskrit, *Subhara* On its banks grew a tree, called *saptakha*, which bore a very sweet fruit, with a stone as large as a filbert nut This fruit was dried and packed in plaited baskets, like raisins This description points to the *shaft-dru* or peach, and the *zar'aru*, or apricot, both of which grow in Afghanistan where they are split open, dried, and packed in small baskets, or wooden punnets, for exportation *

Two other products of the country of the Kalustru seem equally well to fix its position to the west of the Indus It produced "a purple flower, used for making a purple dye, not inferior to the Greek sort, but of a far more florid hue" This was the *manyith*, or "madder" The other product was an insect which, when crushed to powder, yielded a purple dye, superior to that used by the Persians This insect was the *coccus lacca*, or "lac insect" The "tears of gum, like amber," were, of course, derived from the cases of the *coccus lacca*, which are commonly known as "shell lac"

Thus all these products of the Kalustru, as described by Ktesias, still form some of the staples of Afghanistan The *dried fruits* packed like raisins, the *madder*, the *lac dye*, and the *shell lac* form part of the present traffic of the country, as I can personally vouch for.

A strong reason for my adoption of the name of *Kalustru* without any alteration is the curious fact that it corresponds with that of the alphabet which was in use

* *Fragments of Ktesias* translated by McCrindle, pp 22—24 The animal which Ktesias calls *martikhora*, or "man eater" is simply the well known "wild goat, or *markhor*, the "snake eater, which abounds in the Sulamani Mountains of Afghanistan As the *kalustru* by some slight alteration of name were believed to have heads like dogs, so the *markhor* had a head like a "man" (*mard* in Persian)

all over Gāndhāra in Afghanistan for several centuries both before and after the Christian era. In the account of Buddha's education it is stated that the young prince Sakya Sinha was taught sixty-four different alphabets, of which three are distinguished by the direction of their writing

- I *Brahma*—written from left to right
- II *Kharostī*—written from right to left
- III *Chinese*—written perpendicularly

In the Chinese version of the Lalita Vistara the Kharostī (*Kai lu-she ti*) is said to mean "donkey's lips." But as the full name is *Kharoshtri*, as written by Dr G Buhler, it agrees letter for letter with the *Kalustri* of Ktesias. The *Kharoshtri* script, which was written from right to left, would therefore be the alphabet of the *Kalustri* of Gāndhāra, to the west of the Indus. We thus learn that the name of the Gāndharian script, which is found in the Western inscriptions of Asoka on both sides of the Indus, was called *Kharoshtri*. In my book on the *Coins of Ancient India* I have called it the *Gāndharian* alphabet, a name which accurately describes the extent of country in which it was used—its earliest use, so far as is known at present, is in the inscriptions of Asoka, and on the Indian coins of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, which date from the third century B.C. But as it had already added the Indian vowel system with the aspirated consonants to its scanty Aramean original, it is certain that it must have been in use for a long time previous to Asoka. Dr Isaac Taylor thinks that the original Aramean alphabet must have been introduced into Afghanistan and the Panjab some time after the accession of Darius in B.C. 520. With this conclusion I cordially concur, and I would fix "the expansion of the alphabet with its

simple vowel system and aspirates between 500 and 400 B.C., after its contact with the more fully developed system of the Indian alphabet "

The name of *Kalustri* still remains to be explained. The "dogs' heads" of Ktesias and the "asses' lips" of the Chinese may be dismissed at once. At the present day there are two of the travelling merchant tribes of Afghans the *Uskituris* and the *Kharotis*, who may perhaps still preserve the name. The former tribe live in "black tents," and might therefore be called *Kaloshtari* (*Kāla iastri*), and the latter tribe, the *Kharoti*, give the general curtailed form of the name. Both tribes are engaged in the carrying trade, and both are included under the general names of *Pocinda* and *Lohāni*, from the nature of their occupation. "They usually assemble in autumn in the plains of Zarmat, Gardez, and Kattawāz, to the east of Ghazni, and make their way through the passes to the Derajāt, where they leave their families and flocks. The men go with their goods to India. These consist of fruits, madder, assafoetida, wool, and furs, in exchange for which they bring back cotton cloths, brocades, and muslins." In fact the *Kharotis* of Afghanistan still carry on the same trade which the *Kalustri* of Gāndhāra pursued four centuries before the Christian era.

In the Babylonian and Scythian versions of the inscription of Darius the name of *Parupamisana* is substituted for Gadāra (or Gāndhāra). The former would appear to have been the Persian name, while the latter was the Indian name. In the Bundahis, the Murgab, the Hari rud, and the Helmand are all said to have their sources in Mount *Aparsen*. Ptolemy also includes the upper course of the Kabul River. These accounts agree with the description of Strabo, that "the southern parts

of the Paropamisus belong to Ariana and India, the northern parts toward the west to Bactriana." As Ptolemy excludes the district of Gandaritis, the Paropamisadæ may be described as embracing all the peoples of the upper courses of the Merv, Hari-rud, Helmand, and Kabul Rivers. Strabo also particularly notices that though "the Macedonians gave the name of Caucasus to all the mountains, yet among the barbarians the heights and the northern parts of the *Paropamisus* were called *Emoda* and Mount *Imaus*," that is, the Indians called them *Himdrat*, or snowy mountains. The Paropamisadæ therefore corresponded with the mountainous districts in the upper sources of these rivers, which are now held by the mixed races called Hazaras.

Of the early inhabitants of the mountainous country we know absolutely nothing. Dionysius indeed mentions the *Satradæ* as dwelling *πρυχὶ Παρπαμισοῖο* in the valleys of Paropamisus in common with the Ariani. Priscian retains the name (v 1004) in his translation, but Avienus changes it to *Sagam infidum*, as if he considered them to be *Sacæ*. The name may, however, be compared with *Satraphernes*, *Sitraphernes*, *Sitratachmes*, and others derived from the *Chitra* or leopard. *Shethar-loznai*, or in the Septuagint *Σαθαρβορζαίαι*, is commonly found in the form of *Sati-barzane*, just as *Chitra* has become *Chita* in the spoken language. Hence perhaps the *Satradæ* may be the same people as the *Sattagudai* of Herodotus, and the *Thatagush* of Darius's inscriptions, whom some writers have identified with the Paropamisadæ.

But whoever may have been the first inhabitants of Paropamisus, it is certain that the earliest occupants of whom we have any clear mention are the Afghan tribes

of *Ghor*, the *Suri* and *Lodi*, who were employed under *Subuktigin* and *Mahmud* in the end of the tenth century A D The *Hazâras* are not mentioned until the time of *Mangu Khan*, who sent an army of *Mugals* to the assistance of *Hulâku*, about A D 1250 *Abul Fazl* says that the "tribe of *Hazâra* are the remains of this army," and that "they inhabit the country from *Ghazni* to *Kandahar* and *Maidân*, to the borders of *Balkh*" *Utbi*, the historian of *Mahmud*, speaks of *Avghâns*, *Turks*, and *Khiljis*. At a later date different writers speak of *Arghân* and *Jarmai* *Hazâras*. I agree with *Sir William Jones* and *Dr Dorn* in considering the *Afghans* as the original inhabitants of the country, the *Paropamisadæ* of the time of *Alexander*.

It must be remembered that the peoples to the west of the *Indus* did not call themselves *Afghans*, that name having been applied to them by their *Persian* neighbours. *Muhabbat Khan* says, "The original spelling of this word is *Afghân*, but *fa* not being used in the *Afghan* language, I have placed it under the head of *alif* and *rau*" Accordingly he spells the name *Arghân*, with the plural *Arghaniân*. This is the form used by the Chinese pilgrim *Hwen Thsang* in A D 620, who, on leaving *Ta la-na* (*Bannu*), passed through *O po lien* on his way to *Ho si-na* or *Ghazni*. *O po lien* is rendered by *Julien* as *Arakan*.* Of course he must have passed through the district of the *Kharotî* *Afghans* on his way from *Bannu* to *Ghazni*.

With regard to the *Afghan* claim to be the descendants of the ten lost tribes of *Israel*, it may perhaps be sufficient to point out that *Saul*, the son of *Kish* (or *Talut bin Kish*), belonged to the tribe of *Benjamin*, which was not one of the ten that were carried into captivity. This

* *Julien s Hwen Thsang*, i 265

claim, of course, was never heard of until their conversion to Islam. It must be remembered also that there is another quite different genealogy which traces the descent of the Sultâns of Ghor from the Turanian Zohâk, whose children took refuge in the hills of Bamian, and eventually settled in Ghor after the victory of Taridun. In this long list there is not a single Hebrew or even Muhammadan name until four generations preceding Shah Muizuddin Ghorî, the conqueror of India. Even so late as the beginning of the eleventh century Mahmud of Ghazni gave his sister in marriage to *Malik Shuhu*, the chief of the Afghans of Zabulistan. He became the father of the notorious Salâr Masaud Ghâzi.

The language of the Afghans is called Pashtu, and is said to derive its name from the Pashtun or Pakhtun clan, whose country is called *Pakhtunkha*, the *Paltuke* of Herodotus. Whether Pashtu was the language of the Afghans in the time of Alexander we have no means of proving, as most of the names preserved by the Greeks seem to be purely Indian. Thus ΣΟΙΗΥΤΗΣ is simply *Subhuti*, ΣΙΣΙΚΟΡΤΗΣ is *Sasigupta*, the ΚΟΡΗΣ R is the Vedic *Kubha*, and the ΑΡΑΚΗΟΤΗΣ R is the *Saraswati* or *Harakhaiti*. It is certainly most probable that the language of the people was Pashtu. But it is quite impossible to believe that the people who elaborated the *Gandhariân* or *Kharoshtri* alphabet could have been even half as wild and barbarous as the Paktyans of Herodotus and the Kalustri of Ktesias. Their accounts might perhaps be accepted as descriptive of the wildest dwellers of the mountain tracts, while the inhabitants of the valleys of the Kabul, the Kuram, the Arachotus, and the Arghandab Rivers were comparatively civilised by their intercourse with their Indian neighbours. To them I would ascribe the adoption of the

Persepolitan architecture, and its transmission to India, where it took root and flourished, uninfluenced by the subsequent introduction of Greek architecture into the Kabul valley and West Panjâb. To them also I would ascribe the introduction of the sculptor's art, and the knowledge of coined money before the advent of Alexander. All of these they no doubt learned from the Persians. And we know absolutely that Taxila, or *Takhsasila nagara*, was a "city of hewn stone," that Omphus, the Raja of Taxila, presented Alexander with 80 talents of coined silver, and that a statue of *Hercules* was carried in front of the army of Porus in his battle with Alexander.

The eastern Alani, or Albani, whether they were Afghans or Massagetsæ, would appear to have been a people of some consequence during the early centuries of the Christian era. In A D 53 the *Dahæ* and *Sacæ* suddenly invaded Parthia and forced Vologeses I to retire. A few years later, in A D 58, the Hyrkanians revolted, and sent an embassy to Nero which, on its return in A D 62, was sent by order of Corbulo by way of the Persian Gulf to escape the Parthians. A peace had been made but it was soon broken, as in A D 75 the Alani Scythians being allowed to go through Hyrkania, made a sudden raid through the Caspian Gates into Media. Pa-lorus, the Satrap of Media, fled before them, and Tiridates, the King of Kawan, was defeated. Flushed with their successful fray, the Alani returned with much plunder to their own country.

From this account of their march through Hyrkania, I conclude that the Alani must have occupied the Western Paropamisus, or the hilly districts lying between Herat on the west and Ghazni on the east, that is the whole of Western Afghanistan, including the little-known district

of Feroz-koh and Ghor. This position is in full accord with their subsequent history in the time of Sapor II. When the Romans declared war against Persia, the Sasanian king was on his north-eastern frontier engaged with the *Chionitæ*, the *Albani*, and the *Segistani*. Sapor at once made peace with them, and succeeded in engaging them as allies in his war with Rome; Ammianus, who saw all three at the siege of Amida, describes them as powerful and brave allies, who were of signal service in the reduction of Amida. The *Chionitæ* I have identified with the *Tokhari* or *Kushâns* of Kabul, and the *Segestani* are well known as the *Sakas* of *Sakastene* or *Sistan*; but who were the *Albani*? In another place Ammianus describes the *Alani* as *Massagetæ*, who extended far to the East, even, as he was told, to the Ganges, or, in other words, towards India. Clearly they seem to be the same as the *Alani* of Josephus, who in A.D. 75 passed through Hyrkania and ravaged Media.

It is of course possible, and perhaps even probable, that there may have been some confusion between the names of *Albani* and *Alauni* or *Alani*, and that the Eastern *Alani* had no real existence. But the existence of the Eastern *Albani* seems to rest upon very sure grounds: (1) We have *Sophytes*, King of Albania; and (2) the King of the *Albani* who accompanied Sapor II. to the siege of Amida.

We have a signal example of a name given through sheer mistake in the West *Indus*, but this is probably a very rare case. The transference of a name is common enough, as in the case of the *Pûsis* of Bombay and the *Rohilla* Afghans of *Rohilkhand*. In earlier times we have *Sakastene*, named after its *Saka* conquerors; *Zâbulistân* after the *Zâbuli* or *Jâwali* White Huns, and the country of *Shah Kitor* after *Kidâra*, the King of the *Kushâns*.

So the country to the west of the Indus, having been occupied by the descendants of *Anu*, the *Anucâns* or *Anicans*, it may have been called *Anwânia* or *Albania* after them.

LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS.

GREAT KUSHÂNS

In my previous accounts of the Indo-Scythians I have traced briefly the histories of the two great hordes of *Sakas* and *Kushâns*, from their first appearance on the Oxus in the second century B.C., down to their final settlements in the countries to the south of the Indian Caucasus. The *Sakas*, under a long line of Princes, or Satraps as they chose to style themselves, continued to hold the provinces on the Lower Indus, with the neighbouring districts of Surashtra and Mâlwa, until the close of the fourth century A.D., when they were subjected by the powerful Gupta kings of Northern India.

Of the early kings of the *Kushâns* we have numerous coins. Hermæus, the last of the Greek Princes of Northern India, came to terms with Kujula Kadphizes, the "King of the Kushâns," and their two names appear on different sides of the same coins. By the Chinese the Kushâns were called *Ta-Yue-ti*, or the "Great Lunar Race,"¹⁰ but their true name, as found in both inscriptions and coins, was *Kushân*. In India, however, they were more generally known as *Tushâras*, or *Tukhâras*, or "Snow-landers," the

¹⁰ That is, if *Yue* be taken for the "moon." But I incline to take *yue ti* or *Gucti*, the general name given by the Chinese to several of the Tartar races. And further, I think that as *Ta* means "great," the *Ta-Gucti* must be the *Massa-Gcta*.

Τόχαροι of Ptolemy, the *Tochari* of Pliny and Ammianus, and the *Tu-ho-lo* of the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang.

Of the speech of the Kushâns we know nothing except the titles of *Shao* and *Shaonano Shao*, or "King" and "King of Kings," as all their inscriptions are recorded in the well-known language of India. As they were Tûrks their language must have been *Tûrki*; but, as they were ignorant of writing, they must have adopted one or both of the two alphabets of their Greek predecessors. These were the *Greek*, which was written from left to right, and the *Gandharian* or *Kharoshtri*, which was written from right to left. On a few of their earlier coins the Kushâns adopted the Greek title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, but these were dropped during the reign of Kanishka, and the only trace of the Greek language that I have found on any of the Indo-Scythian coins is the title of *Strategasa*, or Στρατηγός, taken by Aspa-varma, the "General" of Azas.

According to the Chinese all the kings of the *Tuholo*, or *Tochari*, bore the title of *Shao-xu*, which is transliterated in Greek by ΖΑΘΟΥ, or *Zaru*, on the coins of Kozola Kadaphes, and in Gandharian letters by *Tarua* on some and by *Taûga* on others.¹¹ I take this to be the same title as *PAO*, or *Shao*, on the coins of the later Kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu-deva, and the *Shâhi* of the Indian inscriptions of Kanishka and Vâsu-deva. This title of *Shâhi* continued in use amongst their Indo-Scythian successors down to the time of Mahmud of

¹¹ In his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Scythic Kings of India*, Mr. Percy Gardner, p. 128, notes that this word was originally wrongly read as ΖΑΘΟΥ, but he omits to mention that the correction had already been made by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1872, fourteen years before

Ghazni, as Beruni calls his enemy "Anangpâl the *Shâh*" and the Raja Tarangini styles *Trilochanpal* "the last of the *Shah* kings" The name of *Kushân* also survived until the ninth century, as Ibn Khordadbeh calls the Ruler of Mâwar-un nahar, the "King of the *Kushâns*"

Hwen Thsang describes the language of the *Tu ho-lo* as being somewhat different from that of other countries, but their alphabet he describes as consisting of "twenty-five letters, which were written horizontally from left to right"¹² The language of *Bamian* and *Kapisa*, he says, was slightly different, but that of *Tsaokuta*, of which Ghazni was the capital, was quite different¹³ The *Indian* letters he states were forty-seven in number As this last statement is strictly accurate, I have some confidence in the correctness of his description of the *Tuholo* or *Kushân* alphabet as consisting of twenty five letters which were written from left to right As this direction of the writing excludes all Semitic alphabets we have only the Greek and the *Indian* alphabets left from which to choose The choice is not doubtful, as we know that the *Kushâns* continued to use the Greek alphabet on their coins until the time of Hormazd II of Persia, A D 300, who had married a daughter of the King of Kabul As the Greek alphabet has twenty four letters, the addition of *p* or *sh* completes the number of twenty-five assigned by Hwen Thsang to the alphabet of the *Tochari* or *Kushâns*

On the earliest coins bearing the name of BAZO ΔΗΘ or *Vâsu Dera*¹⁴ the Greek legends show little

¹² Beal, *Simga*, i p 33

¹³ Beal, i p 50, and ii p 283

¹⁴ I claim the discovery of the true reading of this name, which was read as *Baraoro* by Wilson (*Ar Ant* p. 377) Thomas at first disputed my reading, but he eventually gave in

debasement excepting in the letters Z, H, and N. The H has become H and the N has become H , while the Z has changed to a form like the Indian figure २ . But on the later coins, which bear the names of KANHKO and BAZO ΔHO, the letters A and Δ have become round, and are not easily distinguished from O. I have seen no late gold coins of Huvishka, although very corrupt copper coins bearing his name are common. I note that the coins which have the name of *Kaneshko*, ending in *ko*, all bear the peculiar symbol of Vāsu Deva's money, on which account I attribute them to the late period of the third century A D, after the death of Vāsu Deva. On all these later coins there are Indian letters in the field, either single letters or monograms. The reverse types of all these later *Kushān* coins are confined to the figures of the seated goddess *Ardokhsho*, or Lakshmi, and the standing god *Oksho* or Siva with his Bull. The former type prevailed in the Kabul valley and was adopted by the Sassanian kings for their Bactrian coins, the latter type prevailed in the East, where it was adopted by the Gupta kings in the middle of the fourth century A D, and eventually it formed the lasting types of the Kashmir coinage down to the Muhammadan conquest in the fourteenth century.

All these *Later Kushan* coins may be divided into two classes, which I will call Class A and Class B. They formed the money of the Kabul valley and the Panjāb from the time of Vasu Deva's death, or about 180 or 200 A D, down to the settlement of *Kidara Shah*, or *Ki to lo*, in Gandhāra, about A D 425. *Ki to lo*, the King of the Great Kushāns, established his son in *Purushapura*, or Peshawar, and thus formed the kingdom of the *Little Yue ti*, or Lesser Kushāns.

Class A comprises a numerous series of gold coins bear-

ing the names of *Kanisha* or *Vasu Deva* in Greek letters but always accompanied by Indian letters in the field outside the King's spear. The *Obverse* is the same on all, namely, the King standing as on the coins of *Vâsu Deva*, but the reverses have the two different types of *Ardokhsho* or *Oksho*. As these two deities are the representatives of the Indian *Lakshmi* and *Sua* I think it probable that the coins may have been the produce of different places where the worship of *Vishnu* and *Siva* was respectively in favour. The greater number of these coins are found in the Panjâb, but a few gold coins have been found in Stûpas, in the Kabul valley. The *Lakshmi* coins are specially common in North West India, while the *Sua* coins come principally from the West. The former belonged to the Eastern provinces, the latter to the Western provinces of the Kushân Empire.

Many years ago, after I had deciphered the title of *Strategasa* on the coins of Aspa Varma, the son of Indra Varma, the "general" of Azas,¹⁵ I formed the opinion that these coins with Greek legends and Indian letters in the field might perhaps be the local issues of Indian mints under different satraps, whose names might be indicated by the Indian letters. These satraps might have been either Indo-Scythian nobles, or native chiefs, the tributary Hindu rulers of their ancestral dominions. We now know that *Yen Kao chin* or *Yen-Kao chin tai*, the son of *Kien-tsiou kiao*, conquered India, and established his "generals" as governors in the name of the *Yueti* or *Kushâns*. This Prince *Yen*, or *Wen*, is the famous *Wema Kadphises* from whom all the chiefs of Bactria and Sogdiana claimed

¹⁵ Published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1854

descent.¹⁶ The same system of Government was no doubt continued under his successors *Kanishka*, *Hurishka*, and *Vâsu-deta*, and was probably continued down to the close of the Kushân rule. Unfortunately the Indian letters on coins of this class are usually single characters, excepting in the three examples of *Viru*, *Mahi*, and *Vâsu*, which might represent genuine Hindu names, such as *Virudpaka*, *Mahidhara*, and *Vâsu-deta*. But though the names may be Indian, the men might have been Indo-Scythians; for we know that the son of *Chashtana* was *Jayadâma*, the son of *Râjubula* was *Sodâsa*, and the son of *Chhagaliga* was *Vishnu-dâsa*. In all these instances the *Scythian* father gave his son an *Indian* name. The fact is that the Kushâns themselves soon became *Hinduized*, and the *Scythian Hurishka* was followed by Bazo-deo or *Vâsu-deta*, whom I would identify with *Jushka*, of the Raja Tarangini. On his accession he probably took the Indian name. A barbarous race of conquerors settled amongst a more numerous and more civilised people soon loses its nationality. After the conquest of India and their conversion to Buddhism the Kushâns became thoroughly *Hinduized*, and gradually adopted the alphabet as well as the language of the conquered people. I have already remarked the prevailing use of Indian letters on the coins bearing the name of *Vâsu Deva*, as well as the entire absence of any inscriptions of his reign in *Gândharian* letters. The only *Gândharian* inscription of an undoubted later date is my stone record from Panjtâr, which is dated in s. 122, or A.D. 200.¹⁷ It mentions the *Maharajasa Kushanasa Raja*

¹⁶ *Yen*, *W'en*, and *Hen*, I understand to be different pronunciations of the same character.

¹⁷ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, 1854, "Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps."

. . . . but the name is unfortunately lost As Vâsu Deva's earliest record is dated in s 74, or A D 152, and his latest in s 98, or A D 176, this Panjtâr inscription must almost certainly belong to some later king I have read the date of a short inscription found by Mr L King, at Hashtnagar, as s 274 or 275, equivalent to A D 352-53¹⁸ There is no objection to this later date, as we know from Simudra Gupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription that the *Dauka-putra Shâhan-Shâh* was his contemporary As these are the titles of the Kushân kings it is certain that they were still powerful The use of the Gândharian alphabet may still have lingered amongst the people, although it had been given up by the kings

All the coins of the later Kushâns present the same uniform type of *Obverse* of the king standing to the front, with his right hand extended over a small altar, and holding in his left hand either a spear or a trident The inscriptions on the early coins of Class A are all in debased Greek letters, which when nearly complete give the names and Kushân titles of Kanishka and Vâsu Deva On the *Reverse* there are only the two well-known types of the seated goddess ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, and the standing god ΟΚΡΟ with his Bull I notice that with the former type the king holds a spear or sceptre, but with the latter a trident

The obverse legend is ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΟ
ΚΟΡΑΝΟ, or ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ
ΚΟΡΑΝΟ

The reverse legend is either ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, or ΟΚΡΟ ^c

On all of them the symbol is uniformly that of Vâsu Deva

¹⁸ The date of 274, published by Mr V Smith, *Indian Antiquary*, 1869, p 257, is not quite certain, but I still think it must be 274 = A D 352, and I see that Dr Buhler accepts the reading of the date but doubts whether it can be referred to the era of 78 A D The earlier era of 57 A D would give 217 A D

In Plate I I have arranged all the early coins on which the principal monogram in Indian letters is placed outside the king's spear. On a few specimens there is only a single Indian letter, but on most of the coins there are Indian monograms or letters in three different parts of the field—(1) on the left, near the king's right foot, (2) in the middle, between the king's feet, (3) on the right, outside the king's spear or trident.

On these gold coins I think it probable that we have the names, in monogram, of some of the first successors of the great Kushân Princes, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vâsu Deva. On some coins the names may perhaps be those of the satraps or governors of particular provinces. In this case I should expect to find the name of the province or city of the satrap in addition to his name.

In the following table I have arranged all the Indian monograms and letters showing their positions on the coins as left, middle, and right. In this way they can be more readily compared with each other.

Reverse, APΔOXBO

Pl. I No.	King.	Obverse.			Reverse
		Left.	Middle	Right	
1	Kanishka	—	—	Pa	Tha Ra
2		Ha	—	Va	
3	,	Nya	Tha	Va	
4	"	Nya	—	Varu	
5	,	Sa	Chu	Vasu	
6	"	Si	Ga	Vasu	
7	"	Khu	Chhu	Vasu	
8	"	Bha	Ga	Vasu	
9	,	Va	Tba	Chhu	Tha Tha
10	,	Va	Tha	Si	
11	"	—	Pa	Mah	
12	"	—	—	Bha	

Reverse, OKḅO

Pl I No	King	Obverse			Reverse
		Left	Middle	Right	
18	Vasu Deva	—	—	Ha	Ha
14	„	Raju	Gho	Rada	
15	„	—	—	Pri	
16	Kanishka	Ga	Gho	Hu	
17	„	Ha	Tha	Aum	
18	„	Ga	Gho	Phri	

Class B—The coins of this class are chiefly of gold. Some of the copper specimens are undoubtedly ancient forgeries, from which the gilding has worn off. They still present the remains of Greek legends in the margin, but the letters are illegible, and seem to be a mere repetition of o o o. Indian letters now appear in two or three places of the field. One monogram occurs outside the king's spear, as before. A second monogram is under his arm, and a third is placed under his right hand, near the altar. In 1883 Mr L. Thomas published a paper on this class of coins, in which he treated the monograms outside the spear as giving the names of different tribes of Scythians, while the letters under the king's arm he explained as the "names of kings or military chiefs located in India," apparently as independent rulers.¹²

During the past forty years I have made several attempts^c to read these monogram names, in much the same direction as Mr Thomas. But, though our methods agree generally as to the names, I prefer to take the monograms

¹² *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xii pp 6—11

outside the spear as indicating places, the seats of distinct Satrapies. So, also, I look upon the names under the arm as those of the Satraps, or governors of provinces tributary to the great Kushân Kings of Gândhâra. On the Gupta coins the kings' names are placed perpendicularly under the arm.

Mr. Thomas gives the names of five different tribes as:—

1. *Shaka*. 2. *Kushân*. 3. *Gadaha*. 4. *Shandhi*. 5. *Mahi*.

The readings of *Shâka* and *Kushân* are incontestable. *Gadaha* on well-preserved specimens is *Gadahara*, and on some of my coins I find *Gadakhara*, which is perhaps only a variant of the same name. The reading of *Shandhi* I cannot accept, as the monogram appears to begin with P, which *may be* followed by SH, but which is certainly followed by K, over which is placed the vowel I. Then come N and DH, which make up *Pakindhâ*, or *Pakandhi*. If the letter SH be admissible, then the name may be *Pashkindha*, or *Pushkandhi*. But there still remains another element of doubt in the upright stroke which passes through the cerebral *ṇ*, which would add either H or L, or both, to the monogram. The name might, therefore, possibly be *Pakalahadhi*, or even *Pushkalahadhi*, which would represent the Pakhali of the present day.

Mr. Thomas's MAHI is, of course, a correct reading, but I think the name must be that of a king, and not that of a tribe. I have, therefore, included my specimen of *Mahi* in Class A.

In proposing geographical names for these monograms, in preference to the tribal names advocated by Mr. Thomas, I am guided chiefly by the fact that all these coins are found in the Northern Panjâb, where we know that several districts were under the rule of satraps, or governors, who were appointed by the paramount sovereigns

of Gīndhāra At present I cannot offer any absolute proofs of my proposed assignments, but they appear to me to be much more probable than those proposed by Mr Thomas The following are my proposed readings —

I SHĀKA — Thomas has duly noted that this name is always spelt on the coins with the cerebral sibilant *śh*, ञ instead of the palatal *ś*, श But he has omitted to notice that the name on the coins is generally *Shālā* with the long *a*, which is never used for the name of the *Sālā* tribe I prefer, therefore, to read *Shālā* as intended for the city of *Shakala*, which was the capital of the Eastern Panjab It was the residence of the Greek King Menander, and in later times of the Hūn King Mihirkul It is the *Sangala* of Alexander's historians, the *Sālala* of Ptolemy, the *Shakalha* of the Chach-nāma, and the *Sangala wālatiba* of the present day Taking the monograms under the king's arm as the names of satraps or governors, I think that it is much more probable that there were six or eight rulers of Sangala, than that so many chiefs of the *Sāka* tribe were employed under the Kushān kings

II GADAHARA and GADAKHARA — I am not satisfied with the reading of the first half of the name as GADA, although it has the support of Thomas I notice that the first letter has a considerable upturn from its left member, and that the second letter may possibly be R with a turn to the left to connect it with a long *ā* over the next letter H I should like to read the whole name as *Nagarakāra*, if there was any authority for taking the *upturn stroke* before *g* as a connected *n* *Nagarakāra* was the name of the ancient city near Jalālābād, in the middle of the Kabul valley. It is the *Nagara* or *Dionysopolis* of Ptolemy, and one of these very coins was found by Masson in No 10 Topo at Hidda close by, along with gold coins of Theo-

dosius II, Marcian, and Leo²⁰ The only king's name noted by Thomas is *Kirada*, of whom I possess three specimens, but I have a single coin of a second king named *Peraya* Of the *Gadakhara* or *Nagarahara* type I have two coins with the name of SAMUDRA in full under the arm This reading of *Nagarahara* I offer with some hesitation as only tentative

Thomas quotes the tribe of *Shanda* from the Mahabhārata (*Ind Ant*, xii 8), but they appear to be placed in the East, and I do not see how they could have struck coins in the Kabul valley I think these Shandas may be identified with the Shandus of the Arrakan frontier, who are noted in the following paragraph —

“The Shendus, on the northern frontier of the Arrakan hill tracts, have sent a challenge to Mr Greenstreet, the Superintendent of Police at Akyab, to come out and fight, and no doubt (says an Indian paper) when that gentleman receives a reinforcement of the Karen levy, now on the way to Akyab, he will oblige them” (*Homeward Mail*, December, 1892)

III PAKANDHI (the SHANDI of Thomas) — This name has already been discussed It may possibly be the full name of the district of PAKHALI, to the north of Râwal Pindi

Mr Thomas's paper in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1883 deals chiefly with the coins of the Class B²¹ I have been able to add a few new names, Nos 7, 9, and 11, and I have suggested a few different readings of some of the old names On No 13, for instance, I read *Bâslan* instead of *Basan*, as the sibilant is quite unmistakably the Gupta

²⁰ *Artima Antiqua*, Pl XVIII, 25

²¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vol xii p 8

sh. I utterly reject his reading of the title of *Shandhi* on Nos. 12 and 13, for reasons already stated. I also reject his explanation of the female figure of *Ardokhsho* on the reverse as the Indian "*Ardha-nâri*, or half-male and half-female figure of the androgyne Siva." The figure is unmistakably a female only, with two breasts, and the usual female costume. She is, in fact, the goddess *Lakshmi*. The following table describes the names on all the coins of this class that have come under my notice.

Reverse, ΑΡΔΟΧΘΟ

Pl II No	King	Obverse			Reverse
		Left	Middle, under arm	Right	
1	Mi	Khai	Mi	Shaka	Shakha Ghasha Yasha }
2	Sita	Bha	Sita	Shaka	
3	Bha or Bhu	Te	Bha	Shaka	
4	Bhri	—	Bhri	Shaka	
5	Saya, Salya	Bha	Saya	Shaka	
6	Saya, Salya	Bha	Saya	Shaka	
7	—	Bha	—	Shaka	
8	Pra	—	Pra	Shaka	
9	Peraya	Kapan	Peraya	Gadahara	
10	Kirada	Kapan	Kirada	Gadahara	
11	Samudra	Pu	Samudra	Gadahara	
12	Bhadra	—	Bhadra	Pakalbdhi	
13	Bâshan	Nu	Bashan	Pakalbdhi	

The two seals shown in Plate III. certainly belong to the Kushâns of the second or third century A.D., as they have Indian letters on them as well as Indo-Scythian Greek characters. These characteristics distinctly associate them with the coins of Plate I. of the same date.

In A.D. 630 the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang, after passing through Samarkand and Darband, reached the

valley of the Oxus, which he describes as the country of the *Tu ho-lo* or *Tokhari*, that is the Great Yuêti or *Kushâns*. Their language, he says, was slightly different from that of other peoples, while their alphabet consisted of twenty-five letters, which were written from left to right.² This is a very important statement, as it points distinctly to the use of the Greek alphabet. We know from numerous coins and inscriptions that the *Kushâns* used three different alphabets—the *Gândharian*, the *Greek*, and the *Indian*. The first of these is barred by being written from right to left, and the last is barred by the number of its letters which considerably exceed forty, while we know that it was not in use on the Oxus. This leaves only the *Greek* alphabet, which, excluding the *digamma* and the *loppa*, that were not used, and including the *sanpi*, or *sh* which was used by the *Kushans*, consisted exactly of twenty-five letters, and was moreover written from left to right.

Some of the Indo Scythic Greek characters have been much corrupted, but such as I have been able to recognise I have given at the bottom of the plate. Some of the letters are very little changed, as the *B* and *Z* in *BAZO* and in *BIZAGO*. The *P* also retains its form, and is clearly distinguishable from *p* or *sh*. The *A* becomes gradually a simple *O*, and so also does the Δ . The letters *H* and *N* become confounded with each other. The vowel *Y* is used in the name of *Huvishka* on the *Sarapo* cœn, Pl. XXIII 8, in *OOYOHPOKO*, which I read as *Houveshko*. It is also used in the name of the god *PAYPHOPO* Pl. XXII 9, which I read as *Shau Reoro*. Gradually it became the fashion to link some of the letters, as *KO* and *NO* in *Kancshlo* and in *Kushâno*. Several

other letters are also linked, but I have not succeeded in making them out satisfactorily. I shall refer to the subject again in my account of the coins of the Scytho-Sassanians.

No 1 Crystal seal 0.825 in. by 0.625 in.

Male bust, with moustache and earrings, looking to the right. The hair is not bound with a diadem, but, in spite of this want, I think that the head is a royal one, as the Indian inscription on the left reads distinctly, *SHĀNE*, "the King," while that on the right, in corrupt Greek characters, certainly begins with the letter *Ϸ*, or *sh*. I think that it may be read as *Sh a u n o*, or *Shahno*, being only a repetition of the Indian legend.

From this seal we get a direct proof that the abnormal letter *Ϸ* actually does represent the Sanskrit letter *Sh* of the Sanskrit. Dr. Stein had already shown this from the names of *Kānīshka*, *Hurīshka*, and *Kushan*, as well as from the word *ϷAO* being used as the equivalent of the Greek *BACIAEYC*.

No 2 Nicolo seal 1.4 in. by 1.05

The larger seal, a fine nicolo, represents an Indo-Scythian prince in a standing position, doing reverence to the Indian god Vishnu. The god, who is standing to the front, has four arms. In the lower right hand he holds a club, as *gadā dhar*, and in the upper right hand a discus, as *chakra dhar*. The lower left hand rests on a wheel, and the upper left hand a flower, perhaps the lotus. He wears a crown, and the Indian *dhoti*, or waist-cloth, and has both bracelets and armlets.

On his right hand stands the king, who is only half the height of the god, with hands clasped in adoration. The

head dress of the Raja is a round jewelled helmet, similar to that worn by King Huvishka on several of his coins, with a crescent enclosing a dot on the side (See *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl XIII, figs 2 and 9, and Prinsep's *Antiquities*, Pl V, fig 2, and Pl XXIX, fig 20) In Plate I I have given two specimens of these coins, No 4, with reverse of MAO and No 5, with reverse of MAACHNO, with the same helmet As a similar helmet is not worn by any of his successors, I feel inclined to assign this seal to Huvishka himself This attribution is rendered probable by the fact that Huvishka had already published his devotion to the goddess NANA on the copper coin given in the plate as fig 3

The Indian letter between the figures I read as KHAI A similar monogram name is seen on the coin, fig 1 of Pl II, with the letter MI under the arm, which is the position for the king's name The coin is an early one, probably as early as 250 A D

The longer inscription, in corrupt Greek letters to the right, I cannot read But I see that it begins with ΓΟΓΟ, or ΠοΠο, in similar form to the same four characters on the Huvishka copper coin The letter ϐ, or SH occurs, and so does the Ρ, or R, to show that the letters are Greek

There are a few other seals which may be assigned to the same period As they have already appeared in my Plates, it will be sufficient to refer briefly to them

Kusaban Plate XXI 16 Agate seal

Female figure, with modius on head, and cornucopia in left hand, exactly like the *Ardokhsho* of the coins Right hand extended towards a child Greek legend, ϐΟΟΓΑΟ = *Slao Gao* = Queen of the Earth

Kushân Plate XXI. 15. Sardonyx seal.

Female figure, with modius on head, and cornucopia in left hand, as on the last. A lunar crescent above, and a child behind. **ΧΑΡΟΒΑΛΑΝΟ**, *Khâsho-Balano*

Kushan Plate XXII. 18. Jacinth seal.

The goddess **NANA**, sitting, to front, on a recumbent lion. **ΦΡΕΙΧΟΔΑΝΟ**.

Kushan Plate XXII. 18. Agate seal.

The goddess **NANA**, seated, with crescent over head. Legend not read.



OKPO Reverse

VASU-DEVA



KANISHKA



Kushân Plate XXI. 15. Sardonyx seal.

Female figure, with modius on head, and cornucopia in left hand, as on the last. A lunar crescent above, and a child behind. **ΧΑΡΟΒΑΛΑΝΟ**, *Khâsho-Balano*.

Kushân Plate XXII. 18. Jacinth seal.

The goddess **NANA**, sitting, to front, on a recumbent lion. **ΦΡΕΙΧΟΔΑΝΟ**.

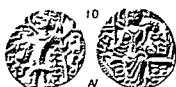
Kushan Plate XXII. 18. Agate seal.

The goddess **NANA**, seated, with crescent over head. Legend not read.

ŚHĀKA



GADAHARA



GADAKHARA



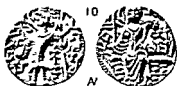
PAKANDHI



SHĀKA



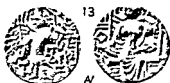
GADAHARA



GADAKHARA



PAKANDHI



GREAT KUSHANS

3



2



4



5



PORTRAITS FROM SEALS & COINS (ENLARGED)

INDO-SCYTHIC GREEK ALPHABET

A	Δ	Δ	Δ	ο	ο	I	I	I		P	P			
B	B	Δ				K	K	K	K	W=O	Σ	C		
Γ	Γ	Γ				Λ	Λ	Λ			T	T		
Δ	Δ	Δ	▷	ο	x	M	M	M			Υ	V	Υ	Υ
E						N	N	Η	Η	W=O	Φ	Φ		
F						Ξ					X			
Z	Z	Z	Z	Z	ξ	O	ο	ο			Ψ			
H	Η	Η	Κ			Π		π			Ϝ	ρ		
O		ο				Φ					Ω	ω	ω	ω

LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS.
SCYTHO-SASSANIANS
AND
LITTLE KUSHÂNS.

BY
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, R.E.,
K C I E , O S I .

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1893

LATER INDO SCYTHIANS

SCYTHO SASSANIAN

(See Plates XIII, XIV)

THE coins which I am now about to describe have been known for the last fifty years by the name of "*Indo Sassanian*" I prefer the name of "*Scytho-Sassanian*," as being more correctly descriptive of the Sassanian costume of the kings with their peculiar Sassanian symbols. The earliest notice of them is by James Prinsep, who examined the specimens obtained by Keramat Ali, the companion of Arthur Conolly.¹ He recognised that the inscriptions were in corrupt Greek characters, in which all the vowels were represented by O, which in Pahlavi is used for the inherent short *a* of Devanâgarî. A few years later Wilson described them as large and convex pieces, with the inscription a mere circle of O's occasionally varied with P. He notes that, although found in the Kabul valley, these coins are "most plentifully met with in Badakshân," where Dr. Lord was informed that they were believed "to belong to a race of Rajput Princes once sovereigns of the province." The large coin with the ram's horns on the king's head dress (Pl. IV, Fig. 15) is specially noted as having been found in Badakshan, and

¹ *Prinsep's Antiquities* by Thomas : 129

another coin equally large, with a plume surmounting the head-dress (A A xiv 16) was obtained at Kunduz²

Wilson further notes that several specimens were in the possession of Dr Swiney, and that others had been sent to England by Dr Lord and Sir Alex Burnes. As I am aware that Dr Swiney's collection was purchased from Kerâmat Ali, the fellow traveller of Arthur Conolly, the specimens seen by Wilson were doubtless the same as those previously described by Prinsep. We thus learn that this collection came from the same country as the later acquisitions of Lord and Burnes, that is from Badakhshân and Kunduz, or the districts on the Oxus, to the north of the Hindu Kush.

Having discovered the country to which these coins belong, the next step is to ascertain their date. On examination we see that the earliest specimens are very close imitations of the later, or posthumous, coins of the Kushân king, Vâsu Deva. The early money of this prince consists of pieces of gold, from 120 to 124 grains in weight, rather less than one inch in diameter, and of about the same thickness as an English sovereign. His later money gradually becomes thinner and broader, with a slightly convex obverse, while the Greek legend becomes more corrupt. The true name of the king was first read by myself as **BAZO ΔΗΟ**, the Greek form of *Vasu Deva*, or *Bas Deo*, whose inscriptions I saw dug up at Mathûra in 1861. Of the early coins, three of which were found in a stûpa at Ali Masjid, the legend is (Pl. V, A and B),

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΒΑΖΟ ΔΗΟ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ,

Shakonano Siao Baso Deo Koshano

² *Ariana Antiqua*, pp 378—379

This soon became corrupted to (Pl. V., C),

POOHOOHOO BOO BOZO OHO KOBOHO.

Shoun mo Shoo Bozo Doo Koshono.

Wilson read the name as *Baraoro*, but he had detected that the character following BO was something like the figure of the Sanskrit numeral for 2.³ It was, in fact, the badly formed Z of BOZO.

On all the later coins which retain the name of BAZO ΔHO, or simply BAZ ΔHO, however much corrupted, the king's head-dress remains unchanged as a conical helmet or tiara, apparently covered with rows of jewels. But on all the thin, broad convex pieces, which I call Scytho-Sassanian, the head-dress assumes a decidedly Sassanian character. The same titles of *Shoun mo Shoo Koshono* are retained, but the name of *Bizo Doo* is gone, and a different name follows *Koshono*. On the reverse also there appears a second legend beside the old type of Siva with his bull Nandi. See the legends in Plate V. under the name of Hormazd II., Figs. E, F, G, H. At first the usual adjuncts of the original old type were retained, namely the *Tricakra* Buddhist symbol on the right, and the *Sashtaka* between the king's feet.

Gradually the coins become larger and more convex, and the Greek legend more corrupt, while the obverse type of the king standing by an altar, and the reverse type of Siva and his bull Nandi, remain the same but of ruder execution. Various changes appear in the king's head-dress, such as a lion's head with open mouth on the front of the tiara, a round tiara surmounted by a tall plume, a helmet with a pair of ram's horns. On all the coins of Sassanian appearance the dress of the king

³ *Journal Asiatique*, 1875.

approaches very closely to the well-known royal costume of the Sassanians. The trousers are now much fuller, the hair is much more bushy, while the ends of the diadem have become very broad, floating streamers, as seen on all the Sassanian coins.

These changes in the head-dress are of special importance in connecting these later coins with the Sassanian princes. Thus the *helmet* surmounted by a lion's head with open mouth is found upon several coins of the Sassanian king, Hormazd II, who reigned from A.D. 301 to 310. On a few of these he is styled king of the Kushâns (*Kushân malkân malkâ*)⁴. The tall *Plume* type is copied from the portrait of *Pâpek Malkâ*, the progenitor of the Sassanians⁵. The *Ram's horns* are connected with Sapor II, who is described by Ammianus, on his advance against Amida, as "wearing, instead of a crown, a golden figure of a *Ram's head* inlaid with jewels"⁶.

The only other coins of this class that I have met with are so extremely corrupt and barbarous that they show most decisively the decline of the Sassanian power in the country where they are found.

The extreme period which can be assigned to these coins may be about a century and a half, or from A.D. 300 to 450. The former date marks the accession of Hormazd II, who married the daughter of the Kushân king of Kâbul. The latter date marks the period when the White Huns, after a nine years' war with Isdegerd II,

⁴ See Plate IV, Fig. 2, a gold coin of Hormazd II. Brit Mus. and Author.

⁵ See Plate IV, Fig. 1, a silver coin of Ardesbur I, with Papek's head on the reverse. This coin is from General Court's collection.

⁶ See Plate IV, Fig. 15, gold coin. Author.

the title of *Kushân malkân malkâ* must refer to the Kushân alliance. But I object also to the hybrid *Labâ-Kushan* as not Persian. The well-known Persian term for a "lion-killer" is *Sher-afkan*. Strangely enough this title was given to the first husband of the celebrated *Nur Jahân*, and was afterwards given to *Nur Jahân* herself by one of the courtiers of her second husband, the Emperor *Jahangir*, after she had killed four tigers with a musket. *Zamsher-afkan*, he called her, which might either mean "Wife of *Sher-afkan*," or the "lady lion-killer" *.

E. Thomas supposes that the lord of *Kâbul* may have been conquered by the Sassanian king, or have ceded a province to him. I would rather suggest that the King of *Kâbul* may have made peace with the Sassanian king by giving him a daughter and ceding the province of *Balkh*, to the north of the *Hindu Kush*. That the name of *Kushân* on the coins refers to the people appears to me to be absolutely certain, as it only repeats in *Pahlavi* what is recorded in corrupt Greek on the large thin gold coins with the figure of *Siva* on the reverse. On these coins the legend is simply (Pl. V, *Hormazd II*)

𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬀, *Shaonano Shao Koshano*

on the left side, and on the right side some very corrupt Greek letters which may be read as **OYPOMAZΔO**
BAΓO

The connection thus formed between the Persians and the *Kushâns* would seem to have been interrupted after some time, as *Ammianus* relates that when war broke out with *Rome* *Sapor II.* was lying in winter quarters on the borders of the *Chionitæ* and *Euseni*, with whom he at once

* Blochmann's *Ain Akbari*, p. 525, note 331

made a treaty and returned to his own country¹⁰ Afterwards, in A.D. 358, at the siege of Amida, Sapor was accompanied by the kings of the Chionitæ and the Albani, of equal rank and splendour. *Grumbates*, the king of the Chionitæ, was "of middle age and wrinkled limbs, but of a grand spirit, and already distinguished for many victories" In the disposition of the troops of his allies no mention is made of the Lusenî, but the four sides of the city are beleaguered by the *Chionitæ*, the *Albani*, the *Vertæ*, and the *Segestani*¹¹ It seems certain that all were tribes from the north-eastern quarter of the empire The *Segestani* we know are the *Sakas* of Sistân The Chionitæ I take to be the Kushâns or Tokharî, as their name would seem to be only a literal Greek translation of the "snow men" or *Tulhânas*, being regularly formed from χιών, "snow" They were therefore the people of Kâbul and Balkh The *Albani* might therefore be the people of the Paropamisus, the *Aoghans* or *Eastern Albani*, or, perhaps, the inhabitants of *Labus* or *Elburz*, that is of Khorasân The Caspian Gates were also called *Albanicæ Portæ*, because they led to the Eastern Albani Polybius uses the term Λαβος or Δαβουτας for Elburz *Laba-Kushan* may, therefore, mean simply the Kushâns of Elburz or Khorasân¹²

It must be remembered that Prince Hormazd (the uncle of Hormazd II), during the reign of his brother Narses, had sought refuge with the Scythians "*Ipsos Persas ipsumque regem adscitis Saccis, et Russis, et Gellis, petit frater Ormies,*" are the words of the Panegyric quoted by Gibbon The first people are certainly the

¹⁰ *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xvi 9—4 and xvii 5—1

¹¹ *Ibid.* xviii 6—1 and xix 2—3

¹² *Polybius*, x 4

Sacæ or *Salas*, the second may be the *Euseni* of Ammianus, and the last may be his *Gelani*. Before his accession, therefore, Hormazd II had already been on friendly terms with the Scythian tribes on his north-east frontier. The presence of his successor, Sapor II, upon the same frontier was no doubt necessary for the maintenance of his authority in that quarter. The only coins of Sapor that I can assign to his eastern dominion are the copper pieces (Plate IV, Fig 9) with the corrupt Greek legend **ΠΟΒΟΡΟ**, *Shoboro*, of which I possess several specimens.

These provinces on the north-east frontier of Persia, which I believe to have been acquired by Hormazd II, and successfully held by Sapor II, must have been still in the possession of the Sassanian kings, when about A D 435 the king of the Ephthaltes or White Huns suddenly crossed the Oxus and overran the province of Merv, or Margiana. The Sassanian king, Varahrân V, or Bahram Gor, at once took the field, and having twice defeated the Huns, he set up a pillar to mark his boundary, and appointed his brother Narses Governor of Khorasân, with Balkh as his headquarters¹³. It is to Bahram Gor, or Varahrân V, that I would assign the thin gold coins with the ram's horns, as they bear the peculiar symbol which is found on the known coins and seals of that prince.

In the reign of Bahram's successor, Isdegerd II, the White Huns again made a raid on the Sassanian territories. The Persian king, in A D 443, took up his residence at Nishapur and directed the war for nine years, until in A D 451 he crossed the Oxus and signally defeated them. Three or four years later, or about A D 455, the White Huns again invaded Khorasân. Isdegerd once

¹³ Geo Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, p 298

more drove them back, but, on following them across the Oxus, he fell into an ambush and was forced to retreat to his own territory. The Ephthalite king who was then reigning was *Chu-Khan*, the *Konkha* of *Priscus*. A few years later, from A.D. 464 to 485, during the reign of the Khâkân *Shulo-Puchin*, the *Khush Nawaz* of the Muhammadan historians, the White Huns renewed their raids, and the provinces to the south of the Oxus were permanently lost to the Persian kingdom.

Perhaps it may be objected to my attribution of these coins to the Sassanian kings that they may have been issued by the later Kushân kings of Kâbul in Sassanian costumes. But the fact that not a single specimen of these thin broad pieces has been found in any of the Stûpas of the Kâbul valley, offers a strong objection to their issue by any of the Kushân kings. The head-dresses also are exact copies of those worn by some of the actual Sassanian kings with their names given in Pahlavi characters. In the case of Varahrân I find the peculiar symbol which is used on most of his coins repeated on two different seals, one of which bears the name of the Sassanian king in Pahlavi characters.

We have also the strong evidence of the gold coins which are actually found in the Kâbul valley. They continue the costume of Vâsu Deva, with the addition of single Indian letters in the field.

The inscriptions in corrupt Greek as I read them are fully supported by the costumes of the kings, thus—

OYPOMAZAO has the Lion's head as a crest, as on the Pahlavi coins of *Hormad II*

POBOPO has the turreted crown as on most of the coins of *Shahpur II*

OOPOOPANO has the ram's horns as on the Pahlavi coins of *Varahrân V*

NOTES ON THE COINS

In the corrupt Greek legends of these coins it will be seen that both the letters A and Δ have become O, and that N and H have assumed new forms as Ϻ and Ϻ, which are often used wrongly one for the other. The peculiar letter Ϸ = SH, the B and the P have alone remained unchanged. A comparison of the large gold coins will show that one-half of the legend comprising the royal title of "king of kings of the Kushâns" has been continued, more or less imperfectly, on all of them. But as the other half of the legend shows no trace of the name of *Bazo Deo*, it is clear that the rude characters must represent some other names.

Thus the coins with the Lion's head, which I attribute to *Hormazd II*, bear a legend in corrupt Greek characters as shown in Pl V, Figs E, F, G, H. The last gives the titles as *nano Shao Koshono Shao* on the left, and *Hoormozdo Oogor* on the right. Fig G gives the name as *Oouramozdo Bogor*. The term *Bogor* I take to be intended for *Baggus* or *Bagaputra*, the *Deiaputra* of India.¹⁴

The coins of *Shahpur* are unfortunately limited to copper, but the name in corrupt Greek is clearly ϷοϷορρρ, *Shoboro*. The king's name is written Σαβάρ by Syncellus, and *Schabour* by D'Herbelot, the P in Persian words being frequently changed to B, as in *Badshah* for *Padshah*.

The gold coins of *Varahrân V*, with Greek legends, offer two different head dresses, both of which are found

¹⁴ I note as a curious fact that the great Kushân kings Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vasu Deva in spite of their adoption of Zoroastrian deities, make use of the title of *Deiaputra*, although *Deva* meant only *Demon* in Persia. Similarly Gondophares and his family are all *Deiaputra*.

on the small copper pieces with Pahlavi legends. The attribution therefore seems certain, more particularly as it is supported by the evidence of a seal (Pl. V, Fig. N) with the head of *Varahran* and his name in Pahlavi, accompanied by the peculiar symbol which is found on these gold coins. I have given four examples of the corrupt Greek legends (Pl. V, Figs. J, K, L, M) which I read as *Bogo Oorohrano*, for *Baga Varahran*. The title on the coin with the ram's horns reads *Roononoka Kosho(no)*. For the ram's horn head-dress I may quote the description given by Ammianus of Sapor II, as a "Ram's head inlaid with jewels," when the historian saw him as he advanced against Amida.

The legends on the reverse of these gold coins are written in the same corrupt Greek characters, but instead of the one short word *oksho* as on the *Vâsu Deva* coins, there are two distinct legends, of which the shorter one may be intended for *oksho*. The longer one seems to be *Borono*, or something similar, on all the coins both of Hormazd and of Varahran. It is possible that it might be intended for *Borzo Deo* for *Vâsu Deva*, which might have been considered as a general term for a king. The same legend is found on the seal (Pl. V, N), with the symbol of Varahrân. On the coins of the later *Vâsu Deva* of Multan the name is similarly represented in Pahlavi by *Varsu Tef*. Hitherto we have not found any successor of the Kushan king Bazo Deo, and I think it quite possible that *Vâsu Deva* was considered to be the general term for the king of the Kushâns. In this view the name placed on the coins might be taken to denote a "vassal king" like Grumbates, king of the Chionitæ, who accompanied Sapor II. to the siege of Amida.

At this very time, A. D. 358, the Kushâns were still in

the height of their power, as the Samudra Gupta inscription on the Allahabad pillar mentions the presents sent by the *Devaputra Shahi Shahânshâhi* to the Indian king. As these were the peculiar titles assumed by the great Kushân kings, the presents must have been sent by one of them. As Grumbates was still an active man at the siege of Amida in A D 358, and as Samudra Gupta's reign must have extended from about 345 to 380 A D, he may himself have sent the presents to the great Gupta king. I am inclined to assign the coins Plate II, Fig 6, of the Later Great Kushâns, with GR under the king's arm, to Grumbates.

The power of the Kushân kings in the beginning of the fourth century A D, is shown by the costly presents and the splendour of the escort which accompanied the Kushân princess to become the queen of Hormisdas II. (A D 301 to 309). It is possible that the lady may have been an aunt, or perhaps even a younger sister, of Grumbates.

No	Metal	Inches	Grains	Plate
1	R	0 80	55	IV 1
<p>[Author, unique]</p> <p>Side face of King Pâpak to left, with peculiar plume surmounting helmet Pahlavi legend, <i>Barî bagî Papakî Malka</i></p> <p>I have given this coin for the sake of the tall plume on the helmet, which is imitated on the coins of Hormazd II and Varahran V</p> <p>The obverse bears the head of his son, <i>Artashatr malka</i>, exactly as published by E Thomas</p>				
2	N	0 75	111	IV 2
<p>[Brit Mus, Dupl Author]</p> <p>Bust of King to right, with Lion's head and tall plume in head-dress Pahlavi legend, <i>Mazdân bagî Auharmazdî Laba Kishân Mallan Mallâ</i></p> <p>"The Mazdaean divine Hormazd, of the <i>Laba Kishân</i> king of kings"</p> <p>Fire altar with standing attendants. Pahlavi legend, the same as on the obverse, with the addition of <i>Mallî</i> over the fire altar</p> <p>[See E Thomas in <i>Num Chron</i> xv. 182]</p>				
3	N	0 80	111	IV 3
<p>[Brit Mus, Author]</p> <p>Full length figure of King, with Lion's head and plume as in</p>				

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATE—continued

No	Metal	Inches	Grains	Plate
				<p>No 2, holding trident in left hand, and pointing downwards to a small altar with right hand. Trident over altar. The combined <i>Tri-ratna</i> and <i>Dharma Chakra</i> symbol to right, and <i>Srastika</i> between feet. Legend in corrupt Greek</p> <p>NONO PAO KOPONO OYPOMAZOO BAΓOO, which appears to be intended for— PAO NONO PAO KOPANO OYPAMAZAO BAΓO, “The king of kings of the Kushans, Hormazd the divine Siva standing before the bull Nandi</p> <p>[Author, duplicate]</p> <p>King standing as on No 3, with Lion's head and tall plume, the broad ends of diadem floating upwards behind head. Trident and symbols as on No 3, with three dots under left arm. Pahlavi legend as No 3. Some of the characters vary slightly on different specimens, but they are clearly intended to represent the same legend.</p> <p>The Indian god Siva standing before the bull Nandi, with trident in left hand and noose in right hand. Pahlavi legend varying, OOA20000HOO to right, and 20SO to left. The last four letters are probably intended for OKPO written inversely</p>
4	N	1 10	72 5	

5	N	1 10	60 5	King standing as on last, with Lion's head and numbus, but without plume (see <i>Ariane Antiqua</i> , xiv 17) Pahlavi legend varying slightly from No 4 The Indian god Siva with Bull, as on No 4 Pahlavi legend, OOP2000H000 No 5 was a small gold coin of the same types as No 4 (Author—now lost.)	IV 4
6	Æ	0 60	38 5	[Brit Mus] Bust of King as on No 2 Pahlavi legend, <i>Auhrmazde Laba Kushan Malka</i> , "Hormazd of the Labâ Kushans King" (See L Thomas in <i>Nim Chron</i> xv 181)	IV 6
7	Æ	0 60	32	[Author, unique] Bust of King, with Lion's head and plume Pahlavi legend, <i>Auhrmazde Malka</i> Fire altar, with bust and arms of human figure on top	IV 7
8	Æ	0 70	72 5	Bust of King with Lion's head and plume Pahlavi legend, <i>Auhrmazde Malka</i> Fire altar without attendants	IV 8
9	Æ	0 75	72	[<i>Ant xvii. 13, 14</i>] Bust of King, with turreted crown surmounted by jewelled dome, bushy hair and beard, and broad fillets of dradom behind Corrupt Greek, POBOPO , which I read as	IV 9

No	Metal	Inches.	Grains	Plate
10	—	—	—	IV 10
11	—	—	—	IV 11
12	N	1 25	121 5	IV 12

Shaburo, for *Shabpur II* The head dress is certainly

his His name is written *Σαβωρ* by Syncellus, and

Schabour by DHerbelot In fact, the Persian *p* is

frequently pronounced *b*, as in *Badrshah* for *Padshah*

Fire-altar, with *taurus* symbol on pedestal.

Gem, with name of *Varahrân*—King's "Antique Gems,"

Vol II, Pl IV, 9.

Amethyst, with symbol of *Varahrân* and *80PO2OJUMO*

(General Pearse)

[Author]

Full length figure of King, with broad tiara surmounted by

plume, two tridents, Tri ratna symbol, and swastika

three dots under left arm Corrupt Greek legend

POONONO PAO KOBONO BOGO

OOPOHOPOOO,

which I read as,

Shaonano Shao Kushano Bago Oorhoro,

"The king of kings of the Kushâns, divine *Varahrân*"

The Indian god *Siva*, with his Bull, trident and noose. Corrupt

Greek legend, *OO22OOAMOMO* to right, and

O2OQ to left Perhaps the former may be intended

for *Oorhoro*, and the latter for *OKPO* or *Oksho*

13	N	1-80	100	<p><i>Full-length figure of King, as on No. 12, but symbol on right similar to that of Varahrân V., as used on his other coins and seals. Swastika omitted between feet. Corrupt Greek legend only slightly different from No. 12.</i></p> <p><i>The Indian god Siva, with Bull, corrupt Greek legend double struck.</i></p>	IV. 13
14	Æ	0 60	29	<p>[Author, not shown.]</p> <p><i>Bust of King, with same headress as on the gold coins Nos. 12 and 13. Pahlavi legend, Varahrân Malkâ.</i></p> <p><i>Fire-altar, with bust of man above. Legend lost.</i></p>	
15	K	1-80	121	<p>[Author, unique.]</p> <p><i>Full-length figure of King, as on Nos. 12 and 13, but with headress surmounted by ram's horns and plume. To right, the Varahrân symbol and swastika. Corrupt Greek legend only a slight variant from No. 12.</i></p> <p><i>Siva and Bull, with corrupt Greek legend as on No. 12.</i></p>	IV. 15
25	Æ	0-55	33	<p>[2 specimens, Author.]</p> <p><i>Bust of King, with ram's horns, and plume headress, as on No. 15. Pahlavi legend, Varahrân Malkâ.</i></p> <p><i>Fire-altar, with male bust above, as on No. 7.</i></p>	IV. 10, 17

PLATE V

A B C D (*left hand*) inscriptions on gold coins of *Kanishka*, with the symbol of *Vâsu Deva*, instead of his usual one. Probably posthumous coins, with corrupt Greek legends.

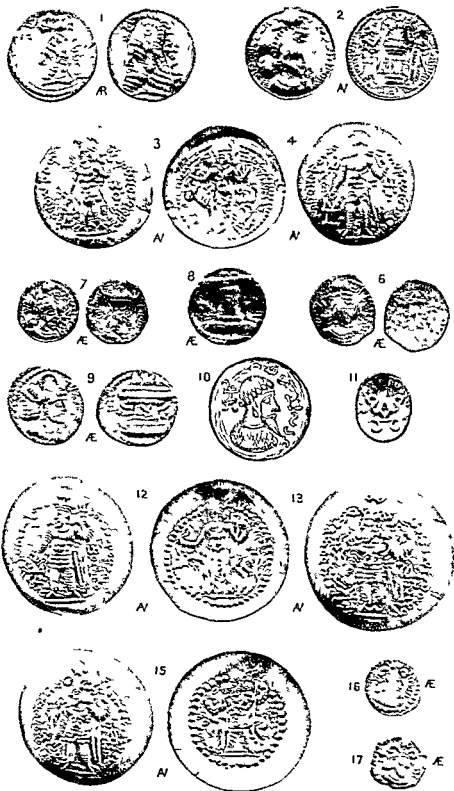
A B C D (*right hand*) inscriptions on coins of *Vâsu Deva*, with corrupt Greek legends, probably of late date and posthumous.

E F G H, inscriptions on large thin gold coins of Hormazd II. The King's dress is Sassanian and his helmet is surmounted by a lion's head, as on the gold coin, with his name in Pahlavi (Pl IV, No 2). It will be seen that the name is omitted between *Shaonano Shao* and *Koshano*, and a new name is given following *Koshano*. This I venture to read as *Ouvomazdo* on one coin and *Hormazdo* on a second coin, followed by *Bazoo*, which may be intended for *Bago*, the "divine". The short legend on the reverse seems to read *Boizo*, for *Bago* or *Vâsu*, as we learn from the later coins of *Vâsu Deva*, king of Multân, whose name is written *Varsu Tef* in Pahlavi.

J K L M, inscriptions on large thin gold coins of *Varahân V*. These legends are very corrupt. On J, I read ++ *nono sho koshono* followed by *Borooion bako*. The others give only slight variations for this reading.

N, is an amethyst seal belonging to General Pearse. It bears the same symbol which is found on the coin L, and on the known coin of *Varahrân V* with the ram's horn (Pl IV, Fig 15).

The names of *Toramâna* and *Mihirakula*, at the foot of the Plate, will be referred to in my paper on "The White Huns," which forms Part IV of the present series of "Coins of the Later Indo Scythians."



LATER INDO-SOYTHIANS.

LITTLE KUSHÂNS.

(See Plate XV.)

THE coins of the Little Kushâns are of considerable interest, as they begin with **KIDARA** or **KI-TO-LO**, the *Shâhi* of the *Ta-Yueti*, or Great Kushâns, who founded the kingdom of the Little Yueti in Gandhâra about A.D. 425 to 430. In a previous brief account of this kingdom I have given my reasons for identifying *Kidâra* of the coins with the *Kitolo* of the Chinese writers, who conquered Gandhâra, and placed his son in the government of Peshâwar, while he returned to the westward to repel an inroad of the White Huns. I possess several gold coins and three silver coins of *Kidâra*. The former present the well-known types of the Kushân kings, with the standing raja and the sitting goddess; but the latter are of Sassanian type, giving the king's portrait in full face with his name, title, and tribe in Indian letters. The legend is *Kidâra Kushâna shâhi*, or "Kidâra king of the Kushâns." The reverse has the Sassanian fire-altar, with three letters or numerals on the base, and the usual attendant priests at the side. I read the three characters as numerals forming 239, or perhaps 339, which, referred to the era of A.D. 78, would give either A.D. 317 or 417. The latter is the preferable date, as the period of Kidâra can

be fixed with some certainty in the first half of the fifth century A.D. We learn from the Chinese notices that his expedition to the South of the Caucasus was caused by the pressure of the White Huns, before whom he at first retired to the westward, and afterwards crossed the mountains into Kipin or Kophene. The victorious Ephthalites continued their advance to the westward until they reached Merv. There they were encountered by Varahrân V, who defeated them with great slaughter in A.D. 428. Their king Tâtân was killed and his queen captured. Narsees the brother of the Persian king, was appointed Governor of Khorasân, with his residence at Balkh. The retirement of Kitolo before the advance of the White Huns must therefore be placed earlier than A.D. 428—or, say, about A.D. 425, or perhaps even earlier.

The Ephthalites remained quiet during the reign of *Sohen Khan*, A.D. 431–443, but on the accession of *Chukhan*, the *Koulha* or *Kounkhas* of Priscus, war again broke out, and lasted from A.D. 443 to 456. In the middle of this period the historian Priscus was in the camp of the great Hun conqueror Attila, where he first heard of the *Oὔννοι-Καπρίται*. These two names I would now separate by identifying the *Huns* with the Ephthalites, and the *Kidaritæ* with the Little Kushâns, whose kingdom was established by Kidâra. The family name of *Kidara* is found repeated on all the gold and copper coins of the Panjâb which can be assigned to this period, including the later money of Toramâna and his son Pravarasena of Kashmir. The name is also recorded by the early Muhammadan writers as *Kitormân* and *Kitoran*, and it still exists in Kâfiristan, as the chiefs of Chitrâl now proudly style themselves *Shah Kito*. In A.D. 1030 Alberuni mentions the Kitormân kings. Two centuries later Changiz Khan,

after his campaign in the Hindu Kush, wintered in *Buya Kitor*, and nearly two hundred years still later the country of the *Kitor Kâfirs* was invaded by *Timur* ¹

Kitolo himself is said to have conquered five different countries or provinces to the north of *Gandhâra* (or *Kandahâr*) ² No names are given, but I conclude that his kingdom included *Ghazni* and *Kabul* on the west, with *Nagarahara* and *Chitrâl* in the middle, and *Gandhara* with *Udyana* on the east. *Kitolo* established his son in *Gandhâra*, with *Purushâwar* as his capital, and then returned to the west to oppose the *Ephthalites*. The Chinese record that these Little Kushâns had coins of gold and silver, a fact which is attested by my coins of *Kidâra* himself as well as of *Pravarasena* in both metals. One gold coin of *Kidâra* was extracted by myself from the *Stûpa* of *Baoti Pind*, a few miles to the north-west of *Shih-dheri* or *Taxila*. Other coins in gold, with the tribal title of *Kidâra* written perpendicularly under the king's arm, present the names of *Sri Sila*, *Sri Kritaznya*, *Sri Visica*, *Sri Kusala*, and *Sri Prabasa* in the margin. All of these were no doubt the successors of *Kidura* in the north-west *Panjâb* (see Figs 10 to 15, Plate VI)

Towards the end of the fifth century the Little Kushâns, or *Kidaritæ*, as I think they may be called, were expelled from *Gandhâra* by an irruption of the *Ephthalites* or *White Huns*. The leader of this invasion is called *Laelih* by *Sung-yun*, and his date is placed at two generations prior to the accession of the king who was reigning in A D 520, or say from forty to fifty years before A D 515, or in A D 465 to 475. The rule of the *Kidaritæ* had, there-

¹ *Sir H Yule*, ii 584, note

² *Les Huns Blancs*, in passage translated by *Juhen*, p 43, also *Remusat*, *Nouv Melanges*, i 223

fore, lasted for only forty or fifty years, or from A D 425. A Kidarite gold coin was found by Masson in No 10 Stûpa at Hiddâ, in company with gold coins of Theodosius II, Marcian, and Leo.³ As the last of these Emperors died in A D 474, the Little Kushâns must have been ruling until about that time—what, then, became of the *Kidaritæ* after the Ephthalite conquest? They were certainly expelled from Gandhâra, but they still continued to hold dominion in other districts, as their coins of later dates are very numerous. I conclude therefore that they retired to the north into Chitrâl and Gilgit to the west of the Indus, and to Pakhal and Kashmir to the east of the river.

But the rule of the White Huns on the Upper Indus was brought to a close about A D 540 or 545 by the defeat and death of Mihir Kul, the son of *Toramâna*. The White Huns had pushed their conquests into Sindh and Malwa, and even into Gwalior and the valley of the Ganges. But their victorious career in India was checked by the crushing defeat of Mihir Kul at *Kahrôr*, near Multân.⁴ The Hindu Princes, *Nara Sinha Gupta*, of Magadha, and *Yasodharman*, of Malwa, combined with others against the common enemy, and after his defeat the *Kidaritæ* of the Upper Indus must have recovered much of their former dominions. There they continued to reign and to strike coins in gold and copper, all stamped with their tribal name of Kidâra. Their rule lasted for three centuries until Kanak, "the last of the Kidornian kings," was sup-

³ *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl XVIII., 26

⁴ Beale *Huen Tshang*, i 163, Sachau's *Allerum* ii 6, *Vassilief's Turanâth*, by M La Combe, p 51, note. *Kahrôr*, the place where Mihir Kul was defeated, is a large town between Lahawalpur and Multan.

planted by his Brahman minister about A D 850 But even after their tribal name fell into disuse the types of their coinage still lingered on the money of Kashmir for four centuries longer down to the Muhammadan conquest

Shortly after the death of Mihir Kul, the Jābuli king of the conquering Huns, the *Kidaras* must have regained possession of *Taxila* or *Shah dheri*, as I believe that this famous city received the latter name from its being the residence of the *Shāhi* kings As to the successors of Kidara they inherited this well known title of the great Kushān sovereigns Throughout the native history of Kashmir these kings are generally styled *Shāhi*, or simply "the Shāhi," and their dominion the *Shāhi rājya* Towards the middle of the seventh century the Karkota kings of Kashmir got possession of Taxila and the country of the Salt Range⁵ The Shāhis then retired to the west of the Indus, with Ohind as their capital But even at so late a date as A D 900, the reigning king, *Lalliya Shāhi*, is said to be "amongst kings like the sun amongst the stars"⁶

Al Beruni, who wrote in A D 1030, also speaks of the *Shāhiya* kingdom as having existed for about sixty generations or reigns, but he adds that "this *Hindu Shahiya* dynasty is now extinct" It became extinct by the death of Bhīma Pala, the son of Trilochana Pala, in A D 1026 He was the last of the family which had so

⁵ Beal's *Hsien T'sang*

⁶ *Paja Tarangini*, v 154 Troyer calls him "the illustrious Shāhi of the country of Lalli. But the original has *Sruval Lallija Shāhi*, which clearly refers to a man and not to a country *Sri-man* is a common honorific title of kings The learned translator also has made a mistake in identifying the country of Shāhi with the petty hamlet of *Shāhi hati*, on the road from Simla to the Satlej *Hati* means a Baniya's shop I know the place well

resolutely opposed the Ghazni kings for upwards of half a century. From this family the rajas of Kashmir took wives on the same terms as they received them from the rajas of Kangra. Shâhi queens are frequently mentioned, and particular mention is made of the Shâhi Vasantalekha, the favourite queen of Harsha, who became a Sati after his death in A.D. 1101.

According to Ferishta the Indian kings who opposed Sabuktagin and his son Mahmud were Brâhman⁷; and apparently Al Beruni says the same. His words are "After him (*i.e.*, after Kalar, the Brâhman) ruled the Brâhman kings Sâmand, Kamalu, Bhîm, Jaypâl, Anand-pâl, Tarojan-pâl." It is a curious fact that not a single coin has yet been found of any of the Pâl kings, although the money of Jaypâl's predecessors is very common. Both Thomas and Elliot have referred to this change of name as probably indicating a change of family. That there must have been a change of family seems to me to be absolutely certain, for the simple reason that no Brâhman can be named Pâl. The change in the ruling family is further proved by Ferishta's statement that Jaypâl was the son of Ishtpâl, or Asatpâl, and not of his predecessor Bhîma, or Bhîma Deva, as he is named on his coins. That Trilochan Pâl was not a Brâhman is shown by his proposal to wed his son Bhîm Pâl to the daughter of the great Rajput Raja Chandra Rai.

Masudi, who wrote not later than A.D. 950, and therefore before the accession of Jaypâl, states that the King of Kandahâr [Gandbâra] is called *Hahaj*, and that "this name is common to all the kings of that country."⁸ He

adds that "Kandahâr is the country of the Rajput," the family name cannot refer to the Brâhman predecessors of *Jai-pal*, but rather to *Asat-pâl*, his father and his ancestors. I prefer to read the family name as *Jayaha*, and to identify it with that of the *Janyuha* Rajputs, who have formed a large part of the population of the Salt Range for many centuries. Baber writes the name as *Janyuha*, which is still in use, but the commoner form at the present day is *Januha*. Abul Fazl also uses this form, and states that the warlike Mewâtis, who are all Muhammadans, were converted *Januhas*.⁹ The *Maâsir* writes the name as *جانوها* *Jânuha*. I would therefore identify these *Janyuhas* with the *Jayaha* of Masudi.

I have already mentioned the gold coins bearing the names of *Sri Sila* [- -], *Sri Kṛitātṛya*, *Sri Viśva*, *Sri Kṛsala*, and *Sri Pralâṣa*, all of whom I take to have been the successors of *Kṛitolo*, as they give his name under the king's arm in the Indian form of *Kṛidâra*. As none of these names is found in the Kashmir list, I conclude that the kings themselves must have reigned in the country to the west of Kashmir—in Shah-dheri and Mansera to the east of the Indus, and in Yasin and Chitrâl to the west of that river. In fact, a coin of *Sri Sila* [- -] was found in No 10 Tope at Hidda, in company with coins of Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo, who reigned from A.D. 450 to 474.¹⁰

But there are other coins with the name of *Kṛidara* which undoubtedly belong to Kashmir. The earliest are the well known copper pieces of *Toramana* and the gold and silver coins of his son *Pravarasena*. The former coins

⁹ Blochmann's *Ain-ul-Bari*, i. 456 and 377

¹⁰ *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVIII, 26

are actually mentioned in the *Raja Taranginī* [iii 103] under the name of *Bālāhat*. The story is that Toramāna, the younger brother of Raja Hiranya, "ayant supprimé la multitude des petites monnaies qui avaient cours répandit des dinars frappés en son propre nom"¹¹ The king resented this disrespect, and cast his brother into prison, where he died. It is this prisoner, *who never reigned* at all, that Bhau Dāji and Rājendra Lal have strangely attempted to identify with *Toramāna Jauḥla*, the father of Mihir Kul and the conqueror of Sindh and Mālwa.

The native translator of the *Raja Taranginī*¹² differs slightly from Troyer in his rendering of the passage about the coins struck by Toramāna. He says that the young prince "forbade the use of the coins struck by King *Vāla*, and largely circulated the *Dinnaras* coined by himself." The expression in the original is *Bālāhatānām*, which means simply the "money of Bāla." But *hāt* in Kashmir is also the actual name of one particular coin, which was so called because it was of the value of "one hundred" *ganis*. This is clearly proved by Abul Fazl's account of the coins of Kashmir. The list is as follows —¹³

2 Barah ganis [or <i>twelviers</i>]	= 1 Panchi [or <i>twenty sixer</i>]
4 Panchis	= 1 Hāt [or <i>hundre ler</i>]
10 Hāts	= 1 Sasnu [or <i>thousander</i>]
100 Sasnus	= 1 Lakh [or 1,00,000]

Bārah for twelve is as old as Asoka's inscriptions — *Hāt* is the western form of *Sāt*=100, and *Sās* is the common contraction for *Sahasra*=1,000, as in *Sās bah* : for *Sahasra-bahu*, the thousand armed Arjuna. But there is a still more striking proof of the value of *hāt*, as its initial

¹¹ Troyer's translation

¹² Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Calcutta, 1879

¹³ Gladwin's *Ain Akbari*, ii 126

letter Ç of the Gandharian alphabet is used in all the Indo-Seythian and Gupta inscriptions as the symbol for 100.

As the existing coins of Toramâna, which are found in considerable numbers in Kashmir, are confined to one class of copper pieces, ranging from 100 to 120 grains in weight, it seems not improbable that what Toramâna did was to collect the old coins called *Bâla-hâts*, and to recoin them as *Dinârs* in his own name. According to Abul Fazl the *hât* of Kashmir was equal to the *dâm* of Akbar, or $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a rupee. But the *dâm* weighs 320 grains, whereas the *hâts* of Toramâna do not exceed 120 grains. The money thus recoined I take to have been the barbarous pieces of the later Kushân princes, whose names are unknown.¹⁴ These pieces vary in weight from 100 to 125 grains, with the king standing on the obverse, and Siva and his Bull on the reverse. The coins of Toramâna and his son Pravarasena are so superior in execution to these coins and to all the contemporary coins of North-west India, that I look upon them as the first real issue of the Kashmir mint. There was no previous king of Kashmir named Bâla, and I much doubt whether there was any previous coinage in Kashmir. In fact Kashmir was or had been generally a tributary province. It was certainly tributary to Asoka Maurya, to the Kushân King Kanishka, and to the White Hun Mihir Kul.

I suppose that the title of *Bâla* refers to the "great king" of the Kushâns, who had been the suzerain of Kashmir, and that the money called *Bâla-hât* was so named after the "great king"—the *Bâla-Rao* of those

¹⁴ See Thomas, *Prinsep's Antiquities*, Pl. VIII. Figs. 6 and 7, for two specimens of these coins.

times. The coins themselves are very rude copies of the money of the Kushân king Vâsu Deva, the last prince whose name can be traced on the coins. The Greek characters become more and more corrupt. The letter **B** generally remains distinct, but the name reads like **BIAO** or **BIGO**. It is just possible that the name of Raja Bâla may have been derived from these rude coins. One coin, in fact, actually has **BOAO**. All the copper Kushân coins of Mathura and Sankisa have **BIAO** or **BIGO**. I incline, therefore, rather to doubt the existence of any early Kushân king named *Bâla*, and to accept the derivation of the name from *Bâla*, the "great or superior." There is another class of small copper coins of the later Kushân period, which may perhaps be the *Bala hat* mintage referred to. They have on the obverse Siva and his Bull (very rude), and on the reverse a symbol which I take to be a rude fire-altar, and on the right the name of *Bâla* in monograms of Indian letters. But whatever may have been the origin of the name, I consider that the money of Toramâna and his son Pravarasena was the initial coinage of the Kashmir mint.

The effort which produced these coins seems to have relaxed rather suddenly, as I cannot refer to any specimen of the subsequent coinage of Kashmir, which can be placed earlier than the accession of Durlabha Vardhana, the first raja of the Nâga dynasty.

Whether my identification of the reigning family of Gandhâra in the tenth century with the last of the Kushân princes be correct or not, I still adhere to my opinion that *Jaypal* and his successors were Rajputs and not Brâhmans. I have already noted the fact that *Trilochan pâl* had proposed to wed his son *Bhimpal* to the daughter of the great Rajput Chandor Rai, Raja of Suwawa, "one of the

A D 982 In a second great battle fought with Mahmûd in A D 392, or A D 1001, near Purushâwar, the Hindus were defeated, and lost nearly all of their territory to the west of the Indus, retaining only *Wehand*. Jaipâl was then an old man, and, seeing that he was a "captive in the prison of old age and degradation," he put an end to himself by burning¹⁸. That he was then a very old man is proved by the fact that his *grandsons* and *sons* were taken prisoners along with himself, and one of these *grandsons*, Brâhman-Pâl, the son of Anand-Pâl, only a few years later opposed Mahmûd near Wehand "at the head of a valiant army," when "the battle lasted from morning till evening, and the infidels were near gaining the victory." The accession of Jaipâl cannot, therefore, be placed later than A D 960, and that of his father, Aṣatpâl in A D 930. As the Brâhman Kamlua was reigning in A D 900, and was succeeded by his son Bhîma Deva, the latter must have been contemporary with Aṣat pâl. To this Aṣat-pâl, the father of Jaipâl, I would ascribe the ascendancy of the Rajput family, and the consequent fall of the Brâhman dynasty.

¹⁸ "Utbi," in Elliot's *Mulammadan Historians*

The succession of these two families I make out to be as follows. —

<i>Brahmans</i>			<i>Kushans</i>	
	Alphabet	Coins		
840	Kalar . . .	SPALAPATI .	825	Kanak . . . VENKA.
860	Samand	SAMANTA DEVA	<i>Rajputs</i>	
900	Kamla (Kamlad?) .	KHAMARADAK .	875	— — Laliya Shahi
920	Bhima .	BHIMA DEVA	900	— — Toramana Shahi
			925	ASAT-PAL . . ?
			950	JAI PAL . . . Jaya Pala Shahi
			1002	ANAND PAL . . . Ananda Pála Shahi
			1012	TRILOCHAN PAL . . . Trilochana Pala
			1021	BHIM PAL . . . Bhima Pala Shahi
			1026	End of Dynasty.

The Shâhi kings, the antagonists of the Ghazni Sultans, were the descendants of the Little Kushâns or Kidarîte. But what has become of the mass of the Kushans of the Kâbul Valley? In my opinion, they are now represented by the *Kâfirs* of Chitrâl, who still hold the southern slopes of the Indian Caucasus to the north of the Kâbul River. On the occupation of the Kâbul Valley by the White Huns the Kushans would naturally have retired to the hills, where they still preserve much of their ancient religion, customs and language together with their tribal name of *Koresh* or *Goresh* ¹⁹. In these names I recognise the **KORSAN** of the coins and the *Kushan* and *Gushan* of the inscriptions. Their claim to a descent from Alexander points to the same conclusion, that they are the descendants of the immediate successors of the Greeks. It is quite possible that some portions of the tribe may have found refuge in the hills to the south of the Kâbul Valley, where the old name would seem to be preserved in the *Koreshan* of Dera Ismail Khan, and the *Goreshan* of Dera Ghâzi Khan.

As the chief of Chitrâl still bears the title of "Shah Kitor," I presume that the name of *Kitor* gradually prevailed over the old name of *Kushan*, and that *all* the *Kâfirs* of the present day are simply *unconverted* Kushâns. Mahmûd of Ghazni kept a large body of mercenary troops, who were commanded by Tilak of Hind. He (Tilak) afterwards brought many *Hindu Kitors* under the rule of Masaud ²⁰. Two centuries later Changiz Khan, after his campaign in the Hindu Kush, wintered in the mountains of *Buya Kitor*. Nearly two hundred years later, in A.D.

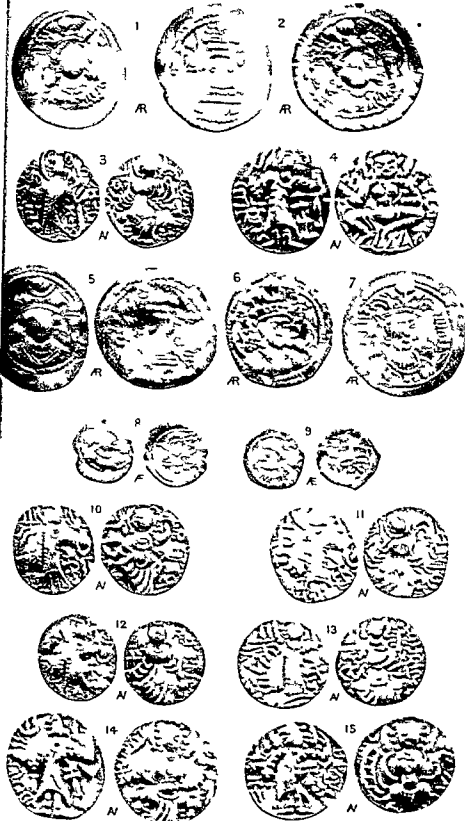
¹⁹ Dr. Bellew's *Ethnography of Afghanistan* pp. 143, 144.

²⁰ Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India* ii. 127.

1398, Timur describes the people as of "powerful form and of fair complexion," and adds that "their language was distinct from Turki, Persian, Hindi, and Kashmiri."²¹ They had a local era of their own which Timur added to the Hijra date of 800 in his rock inscription describing his victory over them.

²¹ Elliot's *Muhammadan Historians of India*, iii. 401.

KIDĀRA SHĀHI



LATER INDO-SCYTHIANS.

EPIITHALITES, OR WHITE HUNS.

BY

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LATER INDO SCYTHIANS¹

EPHTHALITES OR WHITE HUNS

(See Plates IX — XII)

THE earliest notice that we possess of the great horde of Ephthalites or White Huns, who took Khorasan from the Sassanians and overran Northern India, is by the historian Priscus. It was in the camp of Attila, in A.D. 448, that he first heard of the Οὔννοι καὶ ἀρίται. The next notice is by Kosmas Indikopleustes, who in A.D. 530 mentions *Gollas*, king of the Λευαὶ Οὔννοι, on the west bank of the Indus. He calls their country Οἰννία, again giving the name without the aspirate. Procopius also, who died in 565, calls them Οὔννοὺς Λευαοὺς and Ἐφθαλίτας. Theophanes, too, calls them *White Uns* and *Nephthalites*. The aspirate, however, is given by the Armenian writers Elisha and Lazarus, who speak of the *Hunk* and *Kushank*, or *Huns* and *Kushans*. They are described by the Chinese pilgrim Sung yun in A.D. 629 under the name of *Yetha*, which is only a shortened form of *Yē tla i-h to*, the original of the Greek Ἰφθαλίται and of the Muhammadan *Harathel th* of Firdausi and late

¹ This paper was read at the Oriental Congress of 1892 and a portion of it has appeared without illustrations or description in the Transactions of the Congress

writers As Sung yun's description of the *Yetha* tallies exactly with Hwen Thsang's account of the *Humatala* in A D 640, we see that this is also a variant form of *Ephthal* By the Indians they are always called *Huna* or *Hara Hûna* It seems probable that their Chinese name of *Yuan Yuan* may have been the original of the Indian *Huna*

The earliest Indian notice of the *Hunas* is in the Bhatari inscription of Skanda Gupta, A D 450 to 480, where the king is said to have "joined in close conflict with the *Hunas*"² According to the pilgrim Sung-yun, who was in Gandhâra in A D 520, two generations had already passed away since the Hûna conquest, when the Yethas set up *Lae-lîk* as king³ As the accession of Mihirkul, who was then reigning, is now generally accepted as about A D 515, the conquest of Gandhâra and the enthronement of *Lae lîk* must be placed about fifty years earlier, or in A D 465 to 470, or towards the end of Skanda Gupta's reign As Skanda Gupta possessed Mâlwa and Gujarat, the *Hûnas* probably came into conflict with the Indians on the Lower Indus

According to the Chinese writers, the White Huns first appeared in the countries on the Oxus in the beginning of the fifth century, when *Shelun*, the son of the *Tsanyu* (or *Shanyu*) of the *Jican-jwan* (or *Yuan-Yuan*), retired to the west with his brother After defeating *Payekhi*, the king of the *Huungnu*, he gave up the title of *Tsanyu* and assumed that of *Kieu teu fa Khakan* In 410 A D he was defeated by the Wei Tartars, and died during his flight His brother *Hulu* succeeded him, and was followed in 414 by his nephew *Paluchin*, who was killed by his cousin

² Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Guptas*, p 56

³ Beal's *Chinese Pilgrims*, i 100

Talan in 425 The new king began his reign by the invasion of the north-east provinces of Persia, but, being vigorously attacked by the Sassanian king *Varahran V*, he was defeated and killed near Merv in 428 A D His whole camp, with his queen, the *Khâtun*, and his rich crown set with gems, all fell into the hands of the conqueror

Talan was succeeded by his son *Uti*, who took the title of *Solien Khan* He would appear to have been the real founder of the Ephthalite power, as he received a Chinese princess in marriage and gave his own sister to the Emperor of China He carried on a nine years' war with Isdegerd II of Persia, from 443 to 451 A D, and eventually, about 456, forced him to retire to his own dominions to the south of the Oxus From this time the empire of the White Huns became very powerful until 554, when *Solien-teu-fa Khan* was defeated by *Tumen*, the "Grand Shahu" of the Turks During this century of their prosperity the dominion of the White Huns was extended on all sides, until, as described by Sung yun in 620, it embraced all the countries lying between *Persia* on the west and *Khotan* on the east to *Tieh li* on the south *Tieh li* I would identify with *Dahal* or the kingdom of *Chedi* on the Narbada, over which Mihirkul must have held sway in succession to his father *Toramâna* During this century about a dozen different kings ruled over the Ephthalites on the Oxus I now give their names on Chinese authority,⁴ as I think it probable that hereafter we may be able to assign to them some of our numerous unread coins

⁴ D Herbelot *Bibliothèque Orientale*

A D	Name	Title	Remarks
402	SHFLUN	<i>Kie i teu fa K' dhan</i>	
410	Hu lu	Brother of Shelun	
414	Pu lu chin	Nephew of Shelun	Killed by <i>Tatán</i>
425	TA TAN	Cousin of Shelun	Killed in battle with Varahran V 428
428	U TI	<i>Sol en K' a i</i>	
443	Tu ho chin	<i>Ch i Khan</i>	<i>Κουρυα</i> of Priscus war with Isdegerd II
464	YU CHIN	<i>Si ulo Tuel in Khan</i>	<i>Ah sh Vaira</i> of Fir dousi war with Feroz
485	Ten lun	<i>F i ku-shun</i>	<i>Faga ish</i> of Firdausi restored Kobad
492 }		<i>Apotilo</i> revolts	Retires to west with 100 000 followers
494 }	No kai joint emperor	<i>He i khs f i tai</i>	
	Futu	<i>Ta khan Khan</i>	
508	Cheu neu	<i>Tu lo fu pe teu fa</i>	
520	Shufa	Rebels	
511	<i>O no wei</i>	<i>So l en teu pi i teu fa</i>	
	<i>Tu lo me i</i>	Joint ruler	
534	<i>O no wei</i>	Sole Khakan	Defeated by Turks in 546
546	<i>Ghan lo-chin</i>		Defeated by Turks in 564
554		MUHAN KHAN	of the TURKS

The connection of the White Huns with India cannot be traced till near the end of the fifth century, from which time they may be looked upon as a separate branch of the Indo Scythian conquerors, or the "Indian Ephthalites". Their history, as far as I have been able to trace it, begins with Lae lib, the father of *Toramāna* and grandfather of *Mihnakula* or *Mihngul*. Both the last kings were rulers of the Panjab, and both made conquests in India in the early part of the sixth century A D, while the main horde remained in possession of the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus, with Gorgo as their capital (Procopius, A D 540). The following points in their history are derived from six different authorities —

I *Sung yun*, Chinese pilgrim, A D 520

In A D 520 Sung yun entered Gandhâra, where he found that the reigning king was an Ephthalite (*Ye-tha : li-to*) who *did not believe in Buddha*. He was warlike, and kept 700 war elephants⁵. Peshawur was on his frontier, and he had been at war with Kipin for three years regarding his boundary. The pilgrim adds that "*it was formerly called the country of Yepolo,*" and that since the conquest by the Yethas, who set up *Lae lih* to be king, two generations had passed away.

II *Kosmas Indikopleustes*, A D 522—530

"In India further up the country, *i e*, further north, are the White Huns. The king, named *Gollas*, tis said, goes forth to war with not less than 1,000 elephants, besides a great force of cavalry. *This ruler tyrannizes over India*. Once when he laid siege to a certain inland city of India, protected all round by water his army drank up all the water, and he took the city."

III *Hsien Tshang*, Chinese pilgrim, A D 630

In the old town of She-kie lo [*Sākala* or *Sangala*] formerly reigned King *Mihirakula*. *He ruled over India*, and conquered the neighbouring provinces. *Baladitya* king of Magadha, having refused to pay tribute, *Mihirakula* invaded his kingdom. *Baladitya* retired to a morass. The invader was taken prisoner, and afterwards released. As his brother had established himself in *Sakala*, *Mihirakula* went to Kashmir, where he killed the king,

⁵ Beal, vol 1 p xcix

and afterwards did the same in Gandhâra. He persecuted Buddhists, overthrew stûpas, and demolished monasteries.

IV *Turanâth*, History of Buddhism in India

In the time of *Dharmachandra*, king of Magadha, a Turushka ruled in Kashmir, and *Hunimanta*, king of Persia, ruled over Lahore and Multan. One day, seeing on his queen's dress the footprint mark of the king of Magadha, he was affronted, and invaded the country of Magadha, where he demolished the temples of Buddha. Then Buddhapaksha, Raja of Benares, with the aid of other princes of West and South India, attacked Hunimanta, and killed him, and re-established the religion of Buddha.

V *Raja Tarangini*, History of Kashmir

I 289 — Mihirakula, son of Mukula, on seeing the golden footprint of the king of Ceylon on his wife's dress invaded Ceylon and killed the king. He was as cruel as death (*Yama*). He persecuted Buddhists, and built a temple to the sun as *Mihireswara*.

VI *Chach-Nama*, History of Sindh

After the capture of Multân by Muhammad Kâsim in A.D. 173, he was informed that "in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was *Jibâim* [or *Jabun*, حبيب], and who was a descendant of the Râjâ of Kashmir. He made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multân. In the middle of it he built a temple (which contained) an idol made of red gold." This was

the famous temple of the sun-god, which was a great object of worship for many centuries. The popularity of the sun god of Multân is vouched for by Al Beruni (Sachau, ii 148, 184). The Sahis are said to have reigned for 137 years.

Inscription of TORAMANA from Kyura, Panjab

In this inscription from the Salt Range in the North-West Punjâb the king is called *Maharaja TORAMANA Shaha JAUVLA*. The title of *Jauvla* occurs twice. I notice this because on my silver coins it is spelt *Jabubla* or *Jaburla*. The date of this inscription is unfortunately too much injured to be readable.

Inscription of TORAMANA from Eran in Malwa

The inscription is dated in the *first* year of Mahârajadhi rāja TORAMANA.

Inscription of MIHIRAKULA from Gwalior Fort

This inscription was found by myself in 1844, built into the wall of the fort of Gwalior, near the Suraj kund. Mr Fleet describes it as a record of the building of a temple of the sun in the fifteenth year of the reign of MIHIRAKULA, the lord of the earth, the son of TORAMANA.

Inscriptions of YASODHARMAN from Mandasor in Malwa

In these inscriptions it is recorded that *Yasodharman* possessed countries which "not even the *Guptas* and *Hunas* could subdue" and that homage was done to him by even the famous King MIHIRAKULA. One o

the inscriptions is dated in the *Mâlava* year 589, or A D 532

Jyotirvidabharana, xxii 17

"In a great battle he [Vikrama of Ujjain] conquered the king of *Sakas* in *Ruma*, paraded his royal prisoner in Ujjayini, and afterwards set him free" As this Vikrama of Mâlwa is said to be the contemporary of Varâha Mihira and the "Nine Gems," we learn that his date was the first half of the sixth century A D

Raja Tarangini, iii 125—128, 330

125 "At the same time [when Pravarasena was young] Srîmân Vikramâditya, also named Harsha, ruled in Ujjayini as Emperor of all India"

128 "Having first destroyed the *Sakas*," &c

330 "He [Pravarasena] restored to his father's throne the son of Vikramâditya of (Mâlava), who was named Pratâpasîla by some, and Sîlâditya by others"

Hsien Tshang, Chinese Pilgrim, 629—642 A D

"Sixty years ago flourished *Sîlâditya* [King of Mâlava]" As the pilgrim visited Mâlwa in A D 640, Sîlâditya's date must be 580 A D, and his father Vikramâditya's date the first half of the sixth century. The pilgrim also visited Sindh in A D 641,⁶ when the king was a *Shu-to-lo* or Sudra. But as we know from Sung-yun and Kosmas that the White Huns were then ruling on the Indus, I would suggest that the first syllable, *shu*,

⁶ See *Ancient Geography of India*, p 566, for this date

may be a mistake for *fa*, as these two characters are so much alike that they are frequently mistaken. This change would make the name *Fa tu lo*, which might be accepted for Ephthala. It is, however, quite possible that the pilgrim may have looked upon a White Hun as a Sudra.

Albiruni, A D 1030

In his account of the Vikrama and Saka eras, Albiruni gives his opinion that the Vikramaditya, from whom the era got its name, was not identical with that one who killed the Saka king, but only a namesake. I came to the same conclusion myself when I found at Gvârispur the first inscription dated in the "Era of the Mâlavas" (936 of the Mâlava Kâla), which I at once presumed to be the same as the famous Vikramâditya era (*Archæol Survey*, x 34, and Plate XI). At the same time I hazarded the conjecture, which I communicated to Mr Fergusson, that the name of Vikramâditya must have been given to the era by the later king of that name, the patron of the "Nine Gems," who reigned in the first half of the sixth century A D. But Mr Fergusson went beyond my conjecture and attributed the original foundation of the era to that king.

TORAMĀNA

From a comparison of all these authorities I gather the following facts regarding TORAMĀNA and his son MĪHIRAKULA.

The leader of the Hûnas who established himself on the Indus towards the end of the fifth century A D, was *Lac-lû*, to whom I would assign the silver coin with the

title of *Udayaditya*. His son was TORAMĀNA, called also Shāha *Jauvla*, or *Jabuvla*, or *Jabula*. He was the *Jabula*, reading حول for حوون, or the first of the Shāhis, who built the Temple of the Sun in Multān in A D 505. This date is established by deducting the duration of the Shāhi rule in Sindh, 137 years, from A D 642, when Chach Brahman rebelled and became king of Sindh. In September, 641, when Hwen Tshang was in Sindh, the king was a *Shu-to lo*, or, as I have suggested, a *Fatulo* or *Ephthalite*, or perhaps the Chinese pilgrim looked upon him as a Sudra.

Some time later, or about 510 A D, Toramana had extended his rule to Mālwa. We know certainly that Budha Gupta was still reigning in 165 and 174 of the Gupta era. The former date is on the Eran pillar, and the latter is the date on one of my silver coins. They correspond with 483 and 492 A D. The inscription of Bhānu Gupta is dated in A Gupta 191, or A D 509. The colossal boar at Eran was set up in the first year of Toramana, some time after Budha Gupta.

The small silver coins of Toramana of the Gupta type are dated in 52 of some unknown era. The only era that seems possible is that of *Saka*, which a Scythian might be supposed likely to adopt. By adding the omitted hundreds to make 452 Saka, we get 530 A D, which is a possible date, although I should have preferred an earlier one. The only remarkable date in the history of the White Huns which I can suggest is the final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu khan in A D 456 or 457. If the year 52 be reckoned from this point, we get A D 508 or 509 for the establishment of Toramana's rule in Mālwa.

Toramāna's preference for solar worship is shown by

his building a temple to the sun in Multân, and by naming his son *Mihir-kul*

The silver coins of *Toramâna* are of two distinct classes—(1) Broad thin pieces of Sassanian type, bearing the king's head on the obverse, with a club in front of the face. The legend is in Indian letters of Gupta type, *Shahî Jabublah*, and also *Jabula* on others. Reverse, traces of fire-altar and attendants. (2) Small silver hemidrachms, like those of the Guptas, with the king's head on the obverse, and a peacock with expanded tail on the reverse. The king's face is turned in the opposite direction to that of every one of his Gupta predecessors.⁷ In front of the face is the date of 52, which I have previously noticed.

The small copper coins, attributed to *Toramâna* are found both in the Panjâb and in the country between the Satlej and Jumna. Their attribution is based on the type of the sun with the abbreviated name of *Tora* in large letters. The same sun-type is found on the copper coins of *Mihirakula*, of which a few specimens show the bull struck over the sun emblem.

⁷ Mr. Thomas has drawn attention to this change in the direction of the face, which he considered to be *intentional* (*Dynasty of the Guptas*, p. 51, note). I have also noted it as denoting the change of dynasty. But Mr. Vincent Smith thinks that the change is a mere accident because on the gold coins the horsemen face the right as well as the left. He has overlooked the fact that *every* single silver coin of the Guptas has the face in the same direction. He has also overlooked the fact that the silver coins were the produce of the Malwa mints, while the gold coins were the produce of the Gangetic mints. I would suggest also that where the archers and riders hold the bow or the bridle in the *right* hand, the change must have been due to the carelessness of the die sinker, and not the ambidextrousness of the king.

As Toramāna was the successor of Budha Gupta in Mālwa and also the father of Mihirakula, the contemporary of Bâlāditya (Narasinha Gupta), his date must certainly fall about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century, or from 490 to 515 A D, allowing perhaps a few years either way

MIHIRGUL OR MIHIRAKULA

The career of *Mihirgul* or *Mihirakula* may be briefly sketched from a comparison of the different authorities which I have previously quoted

Hwen Thsang — He was the Raja of *Sakala*, in the Panjâb Having attacked Bâlāditya, king of Magadha, he was taken prisoner, but was afterwards released On returning to Sâkala, he found his brother on the throne He then went to Kashmir, of which he became king by treachery, and afterwards occupied Gandhâra

Ts'anâth — *Hunimanta*, the foreign king of Lahore and Multân, invaded Dharmachandra of Magadha, but was defeated and killed by the combined troops of Central and Southern India I take *Hunimanta* to be the leader of the *Hunas*, and I would identify Dharmachandra with Raja *Yasodharman* of Mālwa, who records that Mihirakula had paid him homage before A D 532 *

Raja Taranginî — *Mihirakula* is recorded as having succeeded his father on the throne of Kashmir, and the invasion of Mlecchas during his father's reign probably refers to the *Hunas* He is also recorded as being a persecutor of Buddhists and a worshipper of the sun, to whom he

* See inscription from Mandisor

dedicated the temple of *Mihreswara*. During the reign of his father Kashmir was invaded by *Mlecchas*. His father is variously named as *Mukula* or *Vasukula* or *Vamakula*.

Kosmas Indikopleustes, who travelled in A.D. 522—530, names the king of the White Huns *Gollas*, whom I would identify with *Mihir-gul*.

In all these different authors I find the record of a great foreign conqueror in the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century A.D., who ruled over the Panjâb, and invaded Northern India, where he reigned for upwards of fifteen years, as the Gwalior inscription of his minister from the temple of the sun is dated in the fifteenth year of his reign.

As I have already identified his father, *Toramâna*, with *Jabuna* or *Jabula*, the first Scythian king of Sindh, who built the temple of the sun at Multân, so I would now identify his son Mihirkul with *Jabula's* successor, who in the Chach-Nâma is called *Sihiras*. As the original Chach-Nâma must have been written in Indian characters, in which the letters *s* and *m* are so much alike as to be frequently interchanged, I think it very probable that the name of this second Scythian king of Sindh was really *Mihira*, and that he was the *Mihir-kul* of our coins and inscriptions.

All the accounts of Mihir-kul agree in the main points of his career :—

1. He was a foreigner, a Mleccha or Hûna.
2. He invaded Northern India, at first with success, as we learn by his inscription from Gwalior; but latterly, after at least fifteen years, he was defeated and obliged to retire.
3. He persecuted Buddhists and patronised Brahmans

and their gods, as we see by the bull of *Sua* and the *Vrisha dhucaya*, or "bull ensign," on his coins

4 His rule generally covered the second quarter of the sixth century, or from 515 to 545 or 550 A D

The coins of *Mihir-kul* are of several different types. The silver money is of Sassanian fabric, with the king's head on the obverse and the legend in Indian letters, *Jayatu Mihirkula* or *Jayatu Vrisha-dhucaya*. In front of the face is the *Saura* standard, the *Vrisha-dhucaya*, a "recumbent bull on the top of the staff". On the reverse is a rude fire altar with two attendants.

The small copper coins which are found in the Eastern Panjâb and in Rajputâna are also of Sassanian type. On the obverse is the king's head with the legend in Indian characters *Sri Mihirakula*, on the reverse a humped bull with the Indian legend *Jayatu Vrisha*, "May the bull be victorious."

The middle-sized copper coins are copies of the previous Kushân types—the king standing with a spear in left hand, and right hand held downwards over a small altar, legend in Indian letters, *Shahi Mihirakula*, or simply *Mihirakula*, reverse, the goddess *Lakshmi* seated with cornucopias.

The large copper coins present the Raja on horseback with the Indian legend *Mihirakula*, reverse, the goddess *Lakshmi*.

With regard to the supposed identity of the Toramânas of Eran and Gwalior with the Toramâna of Kashmir, which was originally advocated by Rajendradâla and Bhau Dâji, I may say that I cannot conceive it to be possible for the following reasons —

1 The *Toramana* of Kashmir, according to the *Raja Tarangini*, was never a king, but died in the prison where

he was put by his brother for striking the coins which we now possess. The Scythian Toramâna was a powerful king, who ruled over the valley of the Indus, both Panjâb and Sindh, and afterwards conquered Mâlwa, where small silver coins of Gupta type were struck in his name and a colossal boar set up in the first year of his reign. Eventually he left his kingdom to his son Mihirkul, who held it for at least fifteen years.

2. The son of the Kashmir Toramâna was *Pravarasena*, who is also described as a great conqueror; but if the two Toramânas were the same person, then *Pravarasena* must have been *Mihirakula* himself. But there is this difference between the two, that Mihirkul was eventually defeated by Yasodharma, king of Mâlwa, whereas Pravarasena re-established on his throne Silâditya, the expelled son of the king of Mâlwa.

3. The coins of Pravarasena, both in gold and silver, show him to have belonged to the *Kidâra* Kushâns, as they present the name of *Kidâra* in beautifully-formed letters written perpendicularly, as on all the Kidarito coins. Lastly, I may observe that the earlier Toramâna, like all the White Huns, has his hair cut short, while the Kashmir Toramâna has bushy hair like his ancestor *Kidâra*, as copied from the Sassanian kings.

4. I may note also that the characters of the Kashmir coins are of a later date than the others. This is most clearly shown in the attached *d* and *o*, which are simple prolongations of the *mâtras* of the *t* and *m*, instead of marks placed above those letters, as in the *Kyûra* and *Erav* inscriptions of the other Toramâna. I note also that the letter *r* has a turn up at the foot on the Kashmir coins of Toramâna and his son Pravarasena, which is not found on the others. These differences are clearly shown

in the plate of inscriptions under the head of TORAMIN.
—A and C.

The great Indian empire of the Hunas, under Mihirkul would appear to have been overthrown by a combined attack of the Hindu princes under Vikramāditya of Mālwa and Balāditya (Nara Sinha Gupta) of Magadha. The scene of his defeat is placed in *Ruma*, in the traditionary account which is attributed to Varâha Mihira and he is said by Al Beruni to have been killed in his flight in the region of Karûr, between Multân and the castle of Lonî.⁹ The castle of Lonî is a small fort close to Delhi which was besieged by Timur, but it is so close to Delhi that the natural description of the position of Karur would have been between Multân and Delhi. I conjecture the river *Loni*, or the "Salt Stream," was really intended because it rises in the country of *Ruma*, or the salt district of Sambhar, in which the battle is said to have taken place. *Kahur* is a large town to the west of the Satlej between Multan and Bahâwalpur. If Mihirkul was defeated near Ajmer in the Ruma country, he would naturally have fled towards the strong fortress of Multan.

TRIBAL NAME

The first notice of the tribal name of the White Huns of India I take to be the *Ye po lo* of the pilgrim Sungyun who says that Gandhâra was formerly called "the country of *Ye po lo*," over which the *Yethas* had placed *Lae lih* as king two generations before his time.¹⁰ As the king then on the throne had been reigning for at least

⁹ Sachau s *Albiruni* II 6

¹⁰ Beal s *Chinese Pilgrims*, I Introd, p xcix

three years, his accession may be fixed about A.D. 515, and that of *Lae-lik* at fifty years earlier, or 465 A.D. I suppose that on this occupation the country was first called after the name of the conquerors *Jabula* (= *Ye-po-lo*), which was either the name or the tribe of *Toramāna*, as we learn from the Kyura inscription found in the Salt Range of the Panjāb. In this inscription *Toramāna* is called *Mahārājā TORAMĀNA Shāha Jaūvla*. On my silver coins the name is spelt *Jabubla* and *Jabula*, each preceded by the royal title of *Shāhi*. This at once recalls the name of *Jabun* or *Jabul*, the first king of Multān, who built the temple of the sun.¹¹ As he was not a Brahman, he must have belonged to the *Shāhi* dynasty, which preceded the Brahman Chach. As his date is fixed by subtracting the 137 years of the *Shāhi* dynasty from A.D. 642, the date of Chach's accession, we get A.D. 505 for the accession of *Jabul*, the builder of the temple of the sun, who must therefore be the same person as *Ducayj*, the founder of the *Shāhi* dynasty in Sindh. But as *Toramāna Jabula Shāhi*, the father of *Shāhi Mihirkul*, was reigning at that very time, I have no hesitation in identifying him with the *Jabula Duxay* of Multān. To this tribe also I would assign the name of *Zābulistān* of the early Muhammadan writers. In fact, on several of the later coins of the Ephthalite rulers of Arachosia the name of *Zāulistān* is found in the marginal Pahlavi legends. The people of *Zābulistān* spoke a language of their own called *Zāuli*, which was distinct from the *Hiruzi* of Herat, from the *Sakzi* of Seistan or Sakistan, and from the *Sughdi* of Sughd or Sogdiana.

¹¹ *Elliot & Muhammadan Historians*, by Dowson, i 205. The name is variously written as *Jalun* and *Jabur*, for which I propose *Jabul*. The change is very slight in Persian characters.


The great power of the White Huns in the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus lasted for just one century, or from A D 455, when they drove Isdegerd II to the south of the Oxus, down to A D 554, when they were subjugated by TUMEN, the Khâkân of the Turks. But they had already established a vast empire over all the countries to the south of the Caucasus, from the shores of the Caspian to the banks of the Satlej, and for a short time even to the banks of the Ganges. The great western extension of their power began with the defeat and death of the Sassanian king, Feroz, in A D 483, and lasted until the conquests of the Muhammadans in the eighth century.

The White Huns have been described by Gibbon¹² as "a polite and warlike people, who possessed the commercial cities of Bokhara and Samarkand, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks, and perhaps to the mouth of the Indus." The doubt of our great historian is now cleared away by the discovery of coins which declare that the White Huns possessed the great cities of Multân and Bahmana in Sindh. From the same source we learn that they also possessed the neighbouring countries of Zâbulistân and Khorasân. The western extension of the Ephthalite dominion to the shores of the Caspian is confirmed by the historian Procopius, who, writing in A D 550, states that they held the country to the north of Persia, with *Gorgo* as their capital. As Gorgo or Gurgân was the chief city of Hyrkania, the White Huns must have occupied the whole province of Khorasân. According to Yakut, their capital was *Bâdghis* which the Chinese call *Pa ti yan* or *Wang she-chung*, the "town of the king's

¹² *Decline and Fall*, c. 42

Huns were contemporaries from about the middle of the fifth century, there is some difficulty in distinguishing them

Both peoples adopted the Sassanian types for all their silver coins, and both adhered to the old Kushân types for their copper money. But the White Huns have left no gold coins, while the gold money of the Kidaras of the old Kushân types is very common

Most of the Ephthalite silver coins are distinguished by a peculiar symbol , which is not found upon any of the known Little Kushân coins, while it occurs on several pieces of the Ephthalite kings, beginning with those of *Jâbula Shah*, or *Toramâna*. It is also found on my unique coin of *Khunggila*, who was one of the Hûna successors of *Mihirkul* as suzerain of Kashmir

Again, there are two distinct types of legend even in the Indian inscriptions. Thus some coins of *Mihirkul* give him the simple title of *Sri* preceding the name, whilst others have *jayatu Mihirakula*. Others, again, bear the Scythian form of *Shâh* *Mihwagula*

One peculiarity observable in all the early Ephthalite coins is that the obverse alone has been struck upon one of the current Sassanian coins, and that in consequence the old Sassanian reverse has been nearly obliterated. In many cases the relief of the obverse king's head would appear to have been obtained by punching up from the other side of the coin. This process has left a sunken copy of the head on the reverse

The question now arises whether any of our numerous Ephthalite coins can be assigned to the "Great Khân" of the White Huns, who ruled over the horde in the countries to the north of the Indian Caucasus? As they were an illiterate people, they would almost certainly

have adopted the Scytho-Greek alphabet of their predecessors, the Kushâns and Scytho Sassanians. I possess a few specimens of this description. Two coins of this class from the Hidda Tope were published in *Ariana Antiqua*. The difference did not escape Wilson, who says of one, Pl. XVI 9 and 10, that "the peculiar characters differ from Pahlavi," and of another, Pl. XVI 20, that the "characters are perhaps intended for Pahlavi."

A single coin in my cabinet, Pl. VII 2, which is clearly copied from the money of Varahran IV, A.D. 388—399, as the king has a single bird's wing on his head dress, presents a short legend of two lines in what appear to me to be corrupt Greek characters. The upper line appears to give the title of *Shah*, and the lower one looks like ΑΗΖΟΒΟΑ, or, by omitting the strokes on the left, simply ΖΟΒΟΑ. *Dizabul* or *Shapolo* was the Grand Khakan of the Turks, whose grandfather had subjugated the White Huns on the Oxus. But his date is perhaps too late, and I rather incline to read *Shah Zobol* for *Shah Zubul*, the king of the *Jabul* branch of the White Huns—that is, *Toramâna Shah Jabulâ*, who conquered the Panjâb, Sindh, and Mâlwa about the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century A.D. There are several undoubted coins of this king with Indian characters, which will be mentioned presently.

Amongst Masson's Hidda Tope coins there are two which have debased Greek legends, one of which also has the Ephthalite symbol. Of the first, Wilson gave two specimens (*Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. XVI 9—10). I have two specimens of this coin, which differ from Masson's in wanting the lunar crescent behind the head. The legends also slightly differ, although they are probably intended for the same.

Of Wilson's second coin (*Ariana Antiqua*, XVI 20), I have one specimen which has the legend on the left rather more perfect. The head-dress is no longer Sassanian, but appears to be a helmet with flaps or side-pieces. The bust faces the left, and is supported on a double-branched ornament, similar to that on the gems and seals of Shahpur I. The legend seems to be intended for *Shahano Shah Zoobol*. The bust is in very high relief, which has been attained by the very deep repousse of the reverse.

The only other coins which possess the same apparently Greek legends are smaller in size, and perhaps of somewhat later date. They have the king's bust on the obverse, with various Indian symbols in front of the face. One has the *discus* and *shell* of Vishnu, a second has the *trident* of Siva and *shell* of Vishnu, a third has the *trident* of Siva springing out of a lotus flower. All have the Sassanian fire-altar on the reverse, but always nearly obliterated.

Another class of these smaller coins presents the king on horseback on the obverse, with the same debased Greek legend. The reverse is always very imperfect. On my best specimen there is a large wheel, which may be the *discus* of Vishnu.

Other coins with the king on horseback have Indian legends reading *Shâhi Jabula*. My second specimen seems to read *Shâhi Janabula*, perhaps for *Jâmbula*. The two coins in the plate are the only specimens of this kind that I have seen. But they are of great interest, as they both bear the Ephthalite symbol, and their Indian legends confirm my readings of the debased Greek legends previously described. The accessory ornaments also are repeated in the *discus* and *shell* of Vishnu of the same pattern as on the bust coins.

The next coins are of peculiar interest, as they point to Kashmir as a portion of the dominions of the Ephthalite king *Jabula* or *Jabutra*, who is clearly the same as the *Jauria* of the inscription of Toramâna *Jauria* from the Salt Range in the Panjab. Three of these coins are so much alike in type and size and general fabric that they must almost certainly belong to the same people and the same country. Their legends are—1 *Shah Jabutra*, 2 *Dera Shah Khinggila*, 3 *Raja Lakhana* (?) *Udayaditya*. The peculiar name of *Khinggila* is found in the *Raja Taranginî* (i. 349) as one of the *Rajas* of Kashmir closely following *Mihirkul*. As he was also known as *Narendrâdiya*, we learn that these Scythian kings had adopted Indian titles, from which I infer that *Udayaditya* and *Purrraditya* (both meaning "Lord of the East") may be only the titles of other *Scythian* kings of Kashmir. But they were the supreme monarchs of an extensive empire, of which Kashmir was only a tributary province.

There is also a small class of copper coins, which I would assign to *Toramana Jabula*. They bear a king's head of Sassanian aspect on the obverse, and a *chakra*, or *sun wheel*, on the reverse, with the Indian legend *TORA* in bold letters. The same legend is found on some of the smaller silver coins, with the name of *zoboa*, or *Jabula*. The same symbol is found also on the Indian copper coins of *Mihirkul*, which bear his name in Indian letters of the Gupta period. It occurs also on a single coin of *Vala* [ditya]. I observe that the peculiar symbol, which is rarely absent from any of the broad silver coins of these Ephthalite kings, does not appear on any of their undoubted Indian coins which are found in the Eastern Panjab and Rajputana. A single specimen of the Sun Type, with *TORA* below (in the cabinet of Mr Theobald)

has a Scythian archer on the obverse This is certainly a Scythian type (*see* Plate VII. 17)

The silver coins of Mihukul are exceedingly rare, while his copper coins are not uncommon The copper coins of the Western Panjâb are all of the Kushân type, with the standing king and seated goddess Lakshmi, but the few silver coins and all the Eastern Panjâb copper pieces bear a Sassanian-looking bust of the king, with the bull and trident of Siva His devotion to Siva is also strongly marked by the legends of *Jayatu Vrisla dhicaya* and *Jayatu-Vrisha* In the Raja Tarangini he is described as a persecutor of Buddhists

A few copper coins of the Kushân type, with the title of Shâhi, give the names of *Huanya lula* and *Jara* The latter name seems to be incomplete, but four coins of different issues offer nothing further On one of these the goddess Lakshmi is seated on a *Sinhâsan*, or "lion-throne" These coins I would assign to Gandhara

The coins from Pl VIII 14 to Pl IX 13 nearly all present the Lphthalite symbol, and all save one have Indian legends The names of *Bhâiana* or *Jarana* and *Tiloka*, the titles of *Purvaditya* and *Deva Shâhi*, are all clear enough, and so is the legend of *Jayatu Sri Narendia* on the two copper coins Pl IX 12 and 13 But all that can be said about them is, that they must have flourished during the sixth and seventh centuries in the countries bordering upon India, or even in North-West-India itself

After these I have brought together all the latest specimens which bear the Lphthalite symbol Some of them have Indian legends, of which the most remarkable is No 16 I read it as *Jayatu Bayân Khotalan* A district named *Khotalan* is to the north of the Caucasus The

coins Nos 18 and 19, which bear native legends, present exactly the same head as on Nos 20, 21, and 22, which have the simple Indian legend *Sri Shahi*. I infer, therefore, that the native legend must give the equivalent of *Sri Shahi*. The latter part of it certainly seems to read *Shono* in debased Greek letters. In support of this reading I may refer to a crystal seal in my possession, with the Indian legend *Shané* on the left side, and the debased Greek *Shaono* on the right¹⁶. The coin (Pl X 2) bears exactly the same legend as that on Figs 3 and 4. It is *Pahlavi*, which Mr Thomas read as *Nyhi Malka*. I prefer *Naphi* as the name, and I would ascribe these coins to the king of *Kipin* (or Kophene = Arakhosia), who is mentioned by the Chinese as wearing "un bonnet fait en tête de bœuf"¹⁷. The coins in the plate, Nos 3 and 4, which present a buffalo's head surmounting the king's head dress, seem to correspond with this description, but the same name is found on No 2, which has a simple head-dress surmounted by three tridents or *trisuls*. These coins apparently belong to the middle of the seventh century. Ghazni was the capital of *Kipin*.

The coins in Plate X, Nos 5—11, are all bilingual or trilingual, the various legends being in Indian *Nagari*, Persian *Pahlavi*, and some unknown Scythian characters. Figs 5 and 6 present a short Indian inscription of two lines on the reverse, which is so imperfectly formed that it has hitherto baffled all attempts to decipher it. It begins with *Sri*.

Fig 7 has also a short *Nagari* inscription of two lines, which was read by Wilson as *Sri Bahmana Vasu Dera*.

¹⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle* 1893 Pl X 1

¹⁷ Remusat, *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques* : 211

The word read as *Bahmana* is uncertain, but I can suggest nothing better. I believe that it refers to the famous capital of Sindh called *Bâhmanicâsi* by the Hindus, and afterwards *Bâhmanâbâd* by the Muhammadans. It was the "city of Brahmans" of Alexander's historians. Vâsu Deva must have been the king of Sindh. The marginal legends on both sides are in Scythian characters.

The remaining coins of Plate X are remarkable as presenting the same bust on the reverse, which many years ago I identified with the famous "sun-god" of Multân, as the head is rayed. With these I compare a coin of Khusru II Parvez of Persia, dated in the year 37 of his reign, or A.D. 628. In the native histories he is said to have invaded territories of the Indian king, who fell in battle against him. I conjecture that this coin may have been struck to commemorate this victory.

No. 9 coin has long been known for its trilingual inscriptions. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the great Stûpa of Mânikyâla. The principal inscription is the marginal legend of the obverse in the Indian language and Nâgarî letters. On the same side, in front of the face, there is a short legend in Scythian characters. The legends on the reverse are all in Persian Pahlavî. A large number of these coins have been found in different places on both sides of the Indus. Two specimens were obtained by Ventura in the Mânikyâla Stûpa. Dr. Lord got forty to the north of the Caucasus. I have received some twenty or thirty from Kabul, and I am aware that a few have been found in Sindh and Kacch. The letters of the Nâgarî legend vary a little in some of the shapes, but my reading of the whole legend agrees substantially with that of James Prinsep. Thomas made one important suggestion in the

reading of *Shâhi* for Prinsep's *Vahi* I give their two readings for comparison with my own —

Prinsep—*Sri hitirira Airana cha parameswara Sri Valitigin devajmita*

Thomas—*Sri hitirira kharala cha parameswara Sri Shahitina devajmita*

Author—*Sri Hitiri cha Airan cha parameswara Sri Shahi-Tigin Devajarita*

I have seen a great number of these coins, and I still possess twenty-six specimens. I am now able to say decidedly that the name of the king is *Tigin*, the *gi* being very clear on several of my coins. *Shâhi* is the well-known Scythian title for "king", and *Devajâ*, or "son of heaven," was an Indian title adopted by Scythians as well as by Sassanians. The Pahlavi legends on the reverse have been read by Thomas as follows —

To left, *Saf Tansaf Tef*, to right, *Takan Khorasan Mallâ*

For *Tansaf* I propose to read *Takhif*, thus making *Saf Talhif Tef* the equivalent of *Shâhi Tagina Dera*. Similarly I take *Takân Khorasân Malkâ* to be the equivalent of *Hilûi cha Airan parameswara*, the "king of India and Persia." *Tukan* or *Taki* was the name of the Panjab, with its capital cities of *Taki shahr* or Taxila, Sakala or Sangala, and Multan. The name of the king was preserved in the famous city of *Takinabad* on the Helmand, which, according to the *Tabakât i-Nasiri*, was the largest town in Garmsir. It is noticed by Nasir-uddin Tûsi and Ulug Beg under the erroneous name of *Takmabad* by the misplacement of the points. The *Tabakat-i Nasiri* has *Takinabad*.

The possession of Khorasan and Zabulistan by the White Huns dates from the defeat and death of the

Sassanian king Firoz in A.D. 483, when the conquerors took possession of those provinces and made *Gorgo* (Gurgân) their capital. Upwards of three centuries later, when the country was visited by Masudi, Zâbulistân was still known as the "kingdom of Firoz." As the head-dress of *Shâhî Tagla* is a simple tiara surmounted by a lion's head, he must be placed before the time of Khusrû II. Parvez. I would therefore identify him with *Ducdy II*, the *Shâhî-shâhin* of the Chach-Nâma, and I would fix his reign to about 565 to 595 A.D.

The next coin of this class, No 10 of the plate, bears the name of the king *Sri Vasu Deva* in Indian characters, with several Pahlavi legends on both sides. The first step in reading these difficult legends was made by Olshausen. A further advance was made by Thomas, who succeeded in finding the name of the king *Vâsu Deva*, in the Pahlavi *Vârsu Tef*; but the decipherment of the whole is still incomplete. His readings were—

OBVERSE	{ Left, <i>Afzûnt</i> (= increase); right, <i>Saf Vârsu Tef</i> . Margin, <i>Pun-shamî dat</i> (In nomine justî judicis) <i>Saf Vârsuo Tef Wahman ach Multan malkâ</i> .
REVERSE	{ Left, <i>Panchai Zaulistan</i> , right, <i>Sri Vasu Deva</i> Margin (not read).

Thomas felt some doubt about the reading of *Panchai* on the left reverse. I differ from his reading, as the first letter is T, and not P. I read the word as *Tukân* in conjunction with *Zâbulistân*, and I believe it to be intended for the Panjâb or *Tukan*, of which *Tukî-shahî*, or Taxila, was the capital. Of the reverse marginal legend I cannot make anything certain. I read doubtfully *Sapardalak-shân* for *Sapâdalahsha* or Rajputâna (Sîwâlak).

The coins of *Vâsu Deva* are still very scarce, only six specimens being known to me. The king's head-dress is

a direct copy of the double-winged crown of Khusru Parvez, and the coins have the same crescents and stars in the margin. As the ruler of Multân and the contemporary of Parvez, I incline to identify him with Rai Siharas of Sindh, who was attacked by the king of Nimroz or Seistan and killed in battle, apparently on the frontier of Mokrân. If the coin of Khusru Parvez with the Multân sun god on the reverse was struck on this occasion, the date on the coin, the year 37 of his reign, or A D 628, would be also the date of Vasu Deva's death.

The last king of Sindh, called Rai Sâhasi, was the son of the opponent of Parvez. In the British Museum there is a unique copper coin of the sun-god type which I would attribute to this king. It has the same double-winged head dress, but the legends appear to be partly in Scythian characters and partly in Pahlavi. The margins on both sides are occupied by the Scythian legends, which are at present quite unintelligible. But in the two Pahlavi legends of the reverse I read on the left of the head *Sipadalakshan*, and to the right *Zaulistan*.

Sapadalaksha, or "one lakh and a quarter," was the old name of Rajputâna. The shortened form was *Sawalakh*, which is still preserved in the present form of *Sawalik*. The early Muhammadan writers describe *Manlor*, the old capital of Mârwar, as being in Sawalik. Ajmer also was in it, and Hânsi is specially mentioned as the capital of Sawalik. The name is said to have been derived from the great number of scattered hills in the country, for which 125,000 is a significant expression. *Sapadalaksha* is mentioned as the territory of King Asoka balla in my Buddha Gaya inscriptions of the twelfth century, before the Muhammadan occupation.

Our knowledge of the early history of Sindh prior to

the Muhammadan conquest is derived from two native histories, the *Chach-Nama* and the *Tuhfat al Kirâm*. The *Chach Nâma* was originally written in Arabic to record the conquest of Sindh by the Arabs under Muhammad Kâsim in A D 713, but only a Persian translation now exists. The work must have been written before A D 753, as there is no mention of the Muhammadan city of Mansûra, which was founded during the reign of the Khalîf Al Mansûr. It is therefore almost a contemporary record of the conquest, which transferred the possession from Râja Dâhir, the son of the Brahman Raja Chach, to the Muhammadans. It begins with a brief notice of the three kings of the Rai dynasty who preceded Chach. The *Tuhfat al Kirâm* gives two additional reigns, and states that the reigns of the five Rais lasted for 137 years.

For the accession of Chach we possess two statements, which agree in fixing it not earlier than 641 A D. The first is the length of the two reigns of Chach and his son Dâhir, or $40 + 33$ lunar years = 73 lunar years or 71 solar years, and as Dâhir was killed on the 11th Ramzân A H 93, or 21st June 712 A D, the accession of Chach must have taken place in $712 - 71 = 641$ A D. The second authority is the statement of the pilgrim Hwen Thsang that when he visited Sindh in September 641 A D, the ruler was a *Shu to lo* or Sudra. At that time, therefore the last king of the Rai dynasty was still reigning. Deducting 137 years from 642, we get 505 A D as the date of the accession of the Rai dynasty. The following list gives the names of the kings of the Rai dynasty, with the names derived from coins for comparison—all of them had the title of Shâhi shâh. Their rule was not confined to the province of Sindh but embraced all the neighbouring

countries up to the frontiers of Kirmân on the west, up to the foot of the Kashmir hills on the north, and up to the boundary of the kingdom of Kannauj on the east. These limits were maintained to the last, as I find that Chach went to Mokrân to settle the boundary of *Kirman* with Persia, and to Shâkalhâ or Sâkala to settle the boundary with *Kashmir*. On the east the ruler of *Chitrawar* or Chitor is said to have been a relative and ally of Rai Sâhasi. The Indian dominions of the Ephthalites formed a mighty empire, the rival of Persia both in power and wealth.

A.D.	Takfat-ul Kirdm	Chach Nama	Coin
505	Rai Diwaj I		Shahi Jabubal = TORAMANA.
530	Rai Siharas		Shahi Mihirgul = GOLLAS
560	Rai Sâhasi	Rai Diwaj II	Shahi Tigin Devaja
595	Rai Siharas II	Rai Siharas	— Vâsu Deva
627	Rai Sahasi II	Rai Sahasi	— — ? name not read.

The ancient title of the Ephthalite kings was *Tsanyu* or *Chanyu*, which was changed for *Khakân*, or *χαγάνος* as written by the Greeks. But just like the Sassanian kings, who call themselves by the foreign title of *Malkân-malkâ* instead of by their native one of *Shâhân Shâh*, so these White Huns preferred the Kushân and Indian titles of *Shâhi* and *Maharaja* to their own title of *Khakân*. Both Toramâna and his son Mihirkul, who were certainly White Huns, take the title of *Maharaja* and *Shâhi* written in Indian characters.

About the middle of the sixth century A.D. the White Huns were conquered by Muhan Khan, the chief of the great Turkish horde, who sent an embassy to Constantinople under Maniach, Prince of the Sogdoites. His letter in the Scythian character and language was received by

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Justin in 569 A D A return embassy was sent by Tiberius in 582, but on its arrival in 584, they found that the Emperor *Shapelo* or *Disabul* was dead In 588 his successor, *Shahu Khan*, sent a letter to the Emperor Maurice As Prince of the Sogdoites, Maniach must have been only a tributary chief, either a Kushan or an Ephthalite, his letter in the Scythian character must have been in the corrupted Greek characters which were common to both As late as the ninth century the ruler of Mawarunnahr is called king of the Kushâns by Khordadbah

Unfortunately, we have no coins that can be certainly attributed to the Ephthalite kings of the Oxus The coins with the 𐬰 symbol, which I believe to belong to the White Huns, may be divided into two classes —

- 1 Those with legends in unknown characters
- 2 Those with legends in Indian letters

Specimens of each kind were found together by Masson in No 10 Hidda Tope Similarly, in a parcel of about eighty of these Scytho Sassanian coins that came to me together, I found some of each kind The only difference that I could perceive was in a few specimens of No 1 class which were certainly of earlier date than any of the No 2 class, I refer particularly to *Ariana Antiqua* Plate XVI Figs 9 and 10, on which the king's head dress is copied from the Sassanian coins of Sapor III, A D 383—388 The characters look like debased Greek, they are certainly not Pahlavi or Indian A single coin with the winged head dress of Varabran IV, A D 420—440 has similar characters, which might be read by taking the two lines, Boustrophedon fashion, as *Sholono Bozino* for *Shulopachin*, the famous *Khush namaz* of Persian history, who defeated the Sassanian Firoz in A D 482 He is called *Flun* by Firdausi

These coins I would assign to the northern branch of Ephthalites on the Oxus, as I believe that the debased Greek characters had already been given up by the southern branch of the Ephthalites on the Indus. The earliest certain coins of the Indian Ephthalites are the silver pieces of Toramāna and his son Mihirkul, both of whom take the title of *Shahi* instead of *Khakan*. The coins of Udayāditya and Khinggilā belong to the same period.

Since writing this paper, I have found a direct proof that the Sâhasi kings of Sindh were White Huns. Elliot¹⁸ quotes Khâkī Shirâzi, who says "In the year 22 the province of Sejistan was conquered, and in the same year Makran was subdued. The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was *Zambil*, was also ruler of *Sind*." The year A H 22 began on 30th November A D 642. The conquest of Chach Brahman may therefore have taken place in A D 643. Vivien St Martin assigns it to 644 A D. Perhaps it is this *Zambil*, ruler of Sind, who is referred to by Masudi (Elliot II, 418), as the "Prince, named Ranbil, who reigned in the valley of the Indus, and who, after subjugating E Persia, advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates."

This name of *Zambil* is only another variant of the *Zanbil*, *Zanbol*, *Ranbil*, *Ranbol*, &c, which is given to the kings of Kabul and Sistan by all the early Muhammadan writers. One of my coins with the horseman obverse has *Janbula* in Nagari letters. This is of course, the true Indian form of the Scythian *Zanbol* or *Zabul*, as the Indian alphabets have no z.

¹⁸ *Muhammadan Historians* ii 418

COINS OF THE WHITE HUNS

PLATE VII			UNASSIGNED ZADULI COINS	
No	Metal	Wt Grs.		
1	R	60	Author, 2 coins, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , xvi 10, from Hidda Tope Head of king to right, Sassanian head-dress like Sapor II., Ephthalite symbol in front of face Legend in unread characters <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants N B —Nearly all of the Ephthalite coins have been Sassanian pieces restruck only on the obverse side which has nearly obliterated the reverse original	
2	R	49	Author, unique, copied from money of Varahrau IV Head of king to right, with wing on head dress Legend in corrupt Greek letters, perhaps intended to represent <i>Shaona Zobol</i> <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants	
3	R	55	Author, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , xvi 20 Head of king to left, with tall helmet, trident before face To left, some unread characters, to right, in corrupt Greek characters, $\beta\Delta\Theta$ ZOBOA = <i>Shao Zobol</i> <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct remains of fire altar and attendants H H Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> p 399, suggests that the characters are perhaps intended for Pahlavi He notices that all these coins are of rude fabric, and slightly concave on the reverse, which is always very indistinct	
4	R	50	Author, 0.95 inch Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of head dress, a jewelled circle	

PLATE VII			
No	Metal.	Wt. Grs	
			and a shell to right Legend in corrupt Greek letters, * * ZOBOA <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct fire altar
5	R	52	Author, 0 90 inch Beardless head of king to right, with crescent, trident and shell to right Remains of corrupt Greek legend, same as on No 4 <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct
6	R	55	Author, 0 85 inch Horseman to right, with crescent on helmet, large shell to right Remains of Greek legend, same as No 4 <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct Remains of Indian legend clear, <i>yatu</i> (Jayatu) NB—These three coins I suppose to belong to the Zabuli tribe of White Huns before their occupation of the Kabul Valley. Or they may belong to <i>Lac loh</i> , the leader of the expedition to the south of the Indian Caucasus. The coins still bear the corrupt Greek characters, but as they also bear the shell of Vishnu and the trident of Shiva, they show some connection with India. Their date would be about 560 to 590 A D
7	R	55	Author, 0 85 inch, a plated coin See <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , xxxiii Fig 1 Horseman to right, crescent on helmet, Epithalite symbol to right. Legend unread, but may be corrupt Greek beginning with ZOBOA to left Prinsep's coin has the symbol behind the horse <i>Rev</i> —Large ornamental wheel, traces of <i>Jayatu</i> in Indian letters NB—I have two other specimens. One like Prinsep's with vase in front of horse, and traces of <i>Jayatu</i> on reverse. The other with a shell in front of horse, and <i>yatu</i> (<i>Jayatu</i>) very distinct. This Indian word in Indian letters connects these horseman coins with India

PLATE VII

SHAHI—JABUL OR JAMBUL

No	Metal	Wt. Grs.	
8	R	53	Author, 0.90 inch, unique king on horseback to right, shell over horse's head, with star above. Behind the king the Ephthalite symbol. Indian legend, <i>Shahi Jabula</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar with an attendant on each side
9	R	50.5	Author 0.80 inch unique king on horseback to right with crescent on helmet, club over head of horse, Ephthalite symbol behind king. Indian legend, <i>Shahi Janbula</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar with two attendants, very rude

SHAHI JABUTLA

10	R	56	Author, 1.0 inch, unique. Other specimens differ Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of helmet, large earring. Indian legend to right, <i>Shahi Jabutla</i> <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct, the coin being repoussé
13	R	50.5	Author, 1.10 inch. Three or four other specimens in poor condition Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on helmet, large crescent behind shoulders, club in front of face, Ephthalite symbol behind. Indian legend behind head <i>Shahi</i> (written reversely) <i>Jabutla</i> (written direct) <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct

DEVA SHAHI KHINGGILA

11	R	48	Author 1.05 inch, unique Beardless head of king to right, crescent on helmet, large crescent behind shoulders, long earrings, ornamental wheel before face, Ephthalite symbol behind head. Indian legend, <i>Deva Shahi Khinggila</i> <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct
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PLATE VII.

No	Metal	Wt. Gra.
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N B—In the *Raja Tarangini* [i 352] a king named *Khingkhila* is mentioned amongst the successors of *Mihirakula*. As he was also called *Narendra litya*, which is an Indian name, *Khingjila* must have been his Ephthalite name. The general appearance of his bust corresponds almost exactly with that of *Jabula*, who was the father of *Mihirakula*.

RAJA LAKHANA(?) UDAYÂDITYA.

12	R	57
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Author, 1 10 inch. Three other specimens one, Mr Theobald, two, E Thomas in Pinsep I 411

Beardless head of king to right, similar to the heads of *Jabula* and *Khingjila*, crescent on helmet, and small earring in ear, Ephthalite symbol missing. Indian legend, *Raja Lalhana(?) Udayaditya*

Rev—Indistinct

N B—Thomas proposes to read *Lamata*, and suggests the kingdom of *Lumghan*, but I prefer to take *Udayaditya* as the Indian title of the foreign king *Lakhana* as in the example of *Narendraditya* for *Khingjila*.

14	R	59
15	R	60

Author, 1 15 inch, selected from eight or ten specimens. See *Ariana Antiqua*, xvi. 19

Beardless head of king to right, crescent on helmet, *chaurics* (or tufts of feathers, as Wilson suggests) spring from the shoulders, Ephthalite symbol in front of face

Legend on No 14 unread

Legend on No 15 in corrupt Greek written from right to left, *Shoho* = *Shahu*

N B—Wilson notes that Masson's coins were found in the great Tope at Hidda, and that great numbers of them are met with at Begram. I was informed that most of my coins of this and similar classes were found in Stupas—especially the coins like Plate IX Fig 1—and most of the other coins in the same Plate. A few of my coins were purchased at the sale of the remains of the Masson collection in London.

PLATE VII.

No	Metal	Wt Gms	
16	Æ	57	Author, see <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas Pl XXXIII 15, 16 Bare head of king to right in circle of beads Indian letter Bu to right Rev—Solar symbol above Indian legend, To below in large letters
17	Æ	57	Mr Theobald Archer standing with bow in his left hand Rev—Same as No 1, with To below in large letters N B—The syllable To is supposed to be intended for TORAMANA The assignment is suggested by the fact that the small copper coins of Mihirakula bear the same solar symbol <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas, Pl XXXIV 17 Male figure standing to front, holding spear in left hand Rev—Solar symbol as on No 1, with Indian letters below, Shuta
18	Æ	26	Author, unique Bare head of king to right Rev—Solar symbol above as on No 2 Indian legend below, Sri lala + + +

PLATE VIII

SHAHI MIHIRAKULA

No	Metal	Wt Gms	
1	Æ	57	Author, see <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas, Pl XXXIV, Figs 1, 2, 4, 5 Beardless head of king to right Indian legend Sri Mihirakula Rev—Humped bull to left Indian legend Jayatu Irsha N B—Prinsep read Maharaja E Thomas read Maharakusa
2	Æ	48	Author see Prinsep, by E Thomas, Pl XXXIV Fig 8 Head of king as on No 5 Same legend, Sri Mihirakula

PLATE VIII			Humped Bull with legend above, <i>Jayatu Vrisha</i>
No	Metal	Wt Grs.	
3	Æ	36.5	British Museum, from Abbott collection, E Thomas in Prinsep, 1 p 411 Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on front of head dress, bull standard in front of face, trident behind head Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Mihirakula</i> <i>Rev</i> — Remains of fire altar and attendants nearly obliterated E Thomas published this coin in <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , 1 p 411, but he failed to read the name
4	Æ	56	Author, 2 coins, but duplicate in poor condition Beardless head of king to right, as on No 3 Bull standard before face, and trident behind head Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Vrisha dhruja</i> <i>Rev</i> — Fire altar with attendant on each side, quite distinct
5	Æ	121	Author, 5 specimens Standing figure of king to left as on the Kushan coins Indian legend, <i>Shah Mihirakula</i> . The <i>gula</i> is quite distinct on all the coins, and I note that this form of the name is used with the title <i>Shahi</i> <i>Rev</i> — Seated goddess with cornucopæ, as on the Kushan coins N B — The Indian letter <i>G</i> has the same curved limb to the left as is used in the inscription of Toramana Shahi from the Hydra Salt Mines
6	Æ	109	Author King standing to front with spear in left hand, star in field to left Indian legend written reversed, <i>Mihirakula</i> <i>Rev</i> — Seated goddess with cornucopæ Star above on right

PLATE IX

No	Metal	Wt Gra.	
1	R	52	<p>Author See <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, xvi 8, p 395, from "Hidda Iope"</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with small earring Ephthalite symbol to left</p> <p>Indian legend to right, <i>ṭaija</i> or <i>ṭanga</i></p> <p>Rev — Fire altar with two attendants</p>
BHĀRANA OR JĀRANA			
2	R	50	Author, copper plated, five or six specimens
3	R	42	<p>Beardless head of king to right with small earring Trisul in front of head-dress, hand in front of face holding flower</p> <p>Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Bhārana</i>, or <i>Jārana</i> Shell behind head</p> <p>Rev — Fire altar with attendants</p> <p>N B — See the copper coins, Plate VIII, 11, 12, 13, of <i>Shahī Jara</i>, which I have suggested as the copper money of this king, <i>Jārana</i></p>
4	R	50	<p>Author, unique</p> <p>Beardless head of king to left, with crescent on helmet Indian legend, <i>Jayatu Raku * Sr +</i> Name doubtful.</p> <p>Rev — Fire altar, nearly obliterated</p>
5	R	55	<p>Author See <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i>, by E Thomas, XXXIII 4, for a similar coin</p> <p>Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet Small human figure with raised hand before face</p> <p>Indian legend, <i>Saha</i>, to left <i>Shāhi</i> to right [A coin in the British Museum with a similar small figure has the letters, <i>duya</i>, <i>Prinsep</i> I 410]</p> <p>Rev — Remains of fire altar</p> <p>N B — Prinsep's coin has the Indian letters <i>Patā</i> instead of <i>Shahi</i></p>
TRILOKA			
6	R	44	Author, four plated coins, intended for silver

PLATE IX

No	Metal	Wt Grs.	
			Beardless head of king to right, with crescent on helmet Epthalite symbol to right, and Indian legend, <i>Triloka</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
PURVĀDITYA			
7	AR	53	Author, very rare See E Thomas in <i>Prinsep</i> , I., p 411 Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, double drop ear ring In front, wheel on lotus throne Epthalite symbol behind head Indian legend to right, <i>Purnaditya</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, almost obliterated E Thomas has misread the legend as <i>Purnaditya</i>
8	AR	55	Author Beardless head of king, with crescent in front of helmet In front of face, vessel on stand holding a three branched symbol, perhaps a trisul Traces of letters above <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
9	AR	53	Author Bearded head of king, with crescent in front of helmet, trisul in front of face Epthalite symbol behind. Indian legend, <i>Deva Shāhi</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
10	AR	58	Author, unique Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, and earring in ear with two strings of pearls Large flower on undulated stem before face Indian legend to right, <i>Shāhi</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
11	AR	52	Author, unique Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, trident in front of face, and nondescript object behind

PLATE IX			
No	Metal	Wt. Gr.	
			left Indian legend apparently reversed, read from right to left, <i>Maboma Shahi</i> <i>Ret</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
16	R	56	Author, 2 coins Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, to right, altar, as on No 15, to left, modified Swastika <i>Jayatu Bajar Khotalan</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
17	R	44	Author, 11 specimens Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet On shoulders, two crescents, with an upright middle stroke, hand extended before face holding flower, club behind head <i>Rev</i> —Remains of fire altar and attendants
NAPKI MALEKA			
18	Æ	52	Author, 12 specimens Beardless head of king to right, with triangle in middle of crescent on forehead Ephthalite symbol behind head Legend in corrupt Greek letters = <i>Διο Shono</i> (or <i>Shoho</i>) = <i>Sri Shahi</i>
19	Æ	49	Author Two similar coins with countermark on neck <i>Tirt</i> , in Indian letters Ephthalite symbol behind head Three similar coins with insect as a countermark
20	Æ	46	Author, has been plated, see <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVI 22 Similar head of king with flag in front of face Ephthalite symbol behind Legend in Indian letters, <i>Sri S'al</i> ; <i>Per</i> —Fire altar, distinct, with attendants
21	R	41	Author, copper thickly plated. Same types and legend as No 20, without flag. See <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVII 11
22	Æ	23	Author Same types and legend as No 21

PLATE IX			Wt. Grs	
No	Metal			
				head Indian legend, <i>Shahi</i> × × <i>na</i> <i>Shahi</i>
				Rev —Indistinct remains of fire altar
NARENDRA.				
12	Æ	51		Author, 9 specimens Beardless head of king to right, earring with two drops, winged head dress with crescent between, shell behind Indian legend <i>Jayatu Sri Narendra</i> Rev —Square fire altar, with two attendants, object below like a pair of spectacles upside down N B —A poor specimen with the king's head has an ornamental wheel on reverse
13	Æ	67		Author, 2 specimens King seated to front, right hand on hip, left hand holding sceptre Rev —Seated goddess, holding flower in left hand. Indian legend written reversed, <i>Jayatu Sri Narendra</i>
The following are other varieties of Ephthalite coinage				
<i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl XVII 20				
Head of king, copied from Sassanian coin				
Ephthalite symbol				
<i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , Pl XVII 21				
Head of king, with crescent				
Trident Indian legend, <i>Shahi</i>				
14	Æ	48		Author, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVI 18 Beardless head of king to right, with tall helmet, and two drops of earring Indian legend to left in large, well formed letters <i>Shahi</i> Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , p 399, has mistaken one of these letters for the Ephthalite symbol Rev —Fire altar, with two attendants
15	Æ	52		Author, unique Beardless head of king to right, with high helmet Altar with three-branched flower to right, Ephthalite symbol to

PLATE IX			
No	Metal	Wt Grs.	
			left Indian legend apparently reversed, read from right to left, <i>Maboma Shahi</i>
			<i>Pei</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
16	Æ	56	Author, 2 coins Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet, to right, altar, as on No 15, to left modified Swastika <i>Jayatu Bayar Khotalan</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, nearly obliterated
17	Æ	44	Author, 11 specimens Beardless head of king to right, with crescent in front of helmet On shoulders, two crescents, with an upright middle stroke, hand extended before face holding flower, club behind head <i>Rev</i> —Remains of fire altar and attendants
NAPRI MALEA			
18	Æ	52	Author, 12 specimens Beardless head of king to right, with trisul in middle of crescent on forehead Ephthalite symbol behind head Legend in corrupt Greek letters = <i>Sio Shono</i> (or <i>Siolo</i>) = <i>Sri Shahi</i>
19	Æ	49	Author Two similar coins with counter mark on neck, <i>Tiri</i> , in Indian letters Ephthalite symbol behind head Three similar coins with insect as a countermark
20	Æ	46	Author, has been plated, see <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XXI 23 Similar head of king, with flag in front of face Ephthalite symbol behind Legend in Indian letters, <i>Sri Shahi</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, distinct, with attendants
21	Æ	41	Author, copper thickly plated Same types and legend as No 20, without flag. See <i>Ariana Antiqua</i> , XVII 11
22	Æ	28	Author Same types and legend as No 21

PLATE IX.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Gra.	
23	Æ	26	Author, unique Beardless head of king to right, with two crescents and trisuls on head dress, holding flower in right hand before face Indian legend, <i>Sri Shahi</i> <i>Rev</i> —Indistinct With these coins may be compared a crystal gem in the possession of the author (<i>Nun Chron</i> 1893 Pl X 1) King's head to right beardless A two drop earring Indian legend to left, <i>Shane</i> Corrupt Greek to right, <i>Shaono</i>
24	Æ	47	Author Small thick coin Beardless head of king with triple crescent and trisul head dress Ephthalite symbol behind To right Pahlavi legend of two letters, <i>AI</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar and attendants

PLATE X.

No.	Metal.	Wt. Gra.	
1	Æ	51	Author, broad thin coin, unique Same types as IX 24, and same legend and Ephthalite symbol The king holds out a flower in his right hand
2	Æ	51	Author, 13 specimens Same types as IX 24, with modified Ephtha lite symbol and Pahlavi legend, <i>Napka</i> <i>Malka</i>
3	Æ	51	Author, 25 specimens, several plated <i>Ariana</i> <i>Antiqua</i> XVII 67—XXI 21 See <i>Prinsep's Antiquities</i> , by E Thomas, XXXIII 3 Beardless head of king, head dress sur mounted by a buffalo's head, and with wings Pahlavi 'o right, <i>Nayka</i> <i>Malik</i> <i>Rev</i> —Fire altar, w ^t ornamental w ^t attendant's head, two I look like Indian, one to in I

PLATE X

No	Metal	Wt. Grs.	
4	Æ	41	<p>Author, same type as No 3, but king's head larger, and his cropped hair very conspicuous Pahlavi legend as No 3, Pahlavi A to left</p> <p><i>Rev</i>—Similar to No 3</p> <p>N B—The Chinese annals record that the king of Kipin in the seventh century A.D. wore "<i>un bonnet fait en tete de bœuf</i>" [Remusat, <i>Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques</i>, I, 211]</p>
5	Æ	50	<p>Author, 5 specimens, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, XVII 6</p> <p>Beardless head of king with two wings and two trisuls in head dress, and a small earring Legend in corrupt Greek characters, the two letters at the end opposite the chin being the same as those in the field of No 6, which I read as <i>Shono</i> or <i>Shoko</i>, for <i>Sl ih</i> The letters on the left at the beginning are the same as those on Figs 18, 19, Plate IX, which I take to represent <i>Sio</i> for <i>Sri</i> The intervening letters should give the name</p> <p><i>Rev</i>—Fire altar, with two attendants facing it. Indian legend in two lines, one on each side, <i>Sri la levi—māna Sri</i> The letters differ and are corrupt Wilson, <i>Ariana Antiqua</i>, p 402, reads doubtfully, <i>Sri mad Dei Bhadra Sri</i>, and suggests that the last part may be <i>Khusru</i></p> <p>To the right and left are two short words in Pahlavi, which Thomas reads as <i>Pun shamdat</i>, a faulty rendering of <i>Pun shami dat</i></p>
6	Æ	46	<p>Author, unique</p> <p>Beardless head of king as on No 5, legend also the same</p> <p><i>Rev</i>—Fire altar and two attendants, the figure on the right being winged Indian legend in two lines and short Pahlavi legends as on No 5</p>

PLATE X

No	Metal	Wt Grs
7	AR	51

VASU DEVA OR VAKHU DEVA.

Author, 2 specimens, *Ariana Antiqua*, XVII
8, p 400

Beardless head of king, with large wings and crescents on head dress, like the coins of Khusru II Indian legend to right *Sri Bahmana* (as read by Wilson), and to left *Vasu Deva* The last two letters of *Bahmana* Wilson considers doubtful I read tentatively *Langara* or *Chandara* *Vasu Deva* seems uncertain Both Prinsep and Thomas read *Vakhu*, but as the Indian letters on these coins are very degraded, the letter might have been intended for a square $\overline{\text{H}}$ s, instead of $\overline{\text{H}}$ s [See Thomas, *Pahlavi Coins of Early Muhammadan Arabs*]

There is a circular legend all round the piece, which no one has yet read It appears to me to be very degraded Greek I can see *Shono*

Rev—Fire altar, with two attendants standing in front, with two short words in Pahlavi to right and left Circular legend round the outside as on the obverse The letter *B* occurs twice in this legend

8	AE	29
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Author, unique

Beardless head of king, with winged head dress surmounted by lion's head with mouth open, a javelin in left hand held upright before face Symbol in field to left

Rev—Fire altar and two attendants, with two Pahlavi words as on No 7 •

AR

KHUSRU II OF PERSIA

From Longperier's *Medailles des Rois Perses*,
Pl XI, fig 3, p 78

Bearded head of the Sassanian king Khusru Parvez to the front, with a pair of wings on his crown In the margin on each

PLATE X

No Metal Wt
Grs

of the four sides a crescent and a crown
Pahlavi legend to right, *Husrui Malkan Malka*

Rev—Bust of the Indian Sun god of Multan, with rayed head dress To the left in Pahlavi, *haft sih* = 37, the year of his reign = A D 627

N B—I ventured to suggest this identification of the rayed bust with the Sun god of Multan eighteen years ago (*Archaeol Survey*, V, p 128), because the same bust appears on the coins of *Shahi Tigin* and *Vasu Deva*, the actual kings of Multan

SHAHI TIGIN

9 R 52

Author, 26 specimens, an average weight 48 to 50 grains, see *Ariana Antiqua*, XXI 22, E Thomas, *Pahlavi Coins of Avars*, p 92

Beardless head of king, three quarter face, with small moustaches, his tiara surmounted by a tiger's head and two triangles, in field to right, three characters, which I take to be corrupt Greek for *Sri Shono*, the first being doubtful Indian legend in circle outside which I have read tentatively,

Sri Hitircha Airan-cha Paramesvara
Sri Shahi TIGIN Devaya

"The fortunate sovereign both of India and of Persia, the fortunate Shahi TIGIN, the Son of Heaven

Rev—Male head to front, with rayed flames ascending to a point [the Sun god of Multan = *Aditya*] Pahlavi legend to left and right

To left—*Saf Takht Tef* = *Sri Tigin Devaya*

To right—*Takan Khorasan Malka* = *Taki Khorasan Malka*

N B—*Taki* was the name of the Panjab, of which *Taki-shahr*, or *Taxila*, was the capital It therefore represents India, the *Hitir* of the Sanskrit legend, while *Khorasan* represents the *Airan* By these readings, the Sanskrit and Pahlavi legends correspond

No	Metal	Wt. Grs.
10	R	52

fairly well. I take this king to have been the founder of *Talinabad*, one of the two capitals of Zabulistan. According to the *Tabakat i Nasiri* it was the "largest town in Garmser." I infer that it was originally the *Hasala* of the Chinese annals. It was taken from *Lal Lal* in the end of the ninth century, by the *Safari Yakub bin Laiz*. It then fell to the Ghaznavis, and in the twelfth century it belonged to the Ghoris, who pursued Bahram Ghaznavi to *Talinabad*.

VASU DEVA

Author, 4 specimens, see *Ariana Antiqua*, XVII 9

Head of king, with a pair of large wings on head dress, as on coins of *Khusru Parvez*. Two Pahlavi legends in inner and outer circles.

Inner to left, * *Af. ut*

Inner to right, *Saf Varsu Tef = Sri Vasu Deva*

Margin—*Saf Varsu Tef—Wahman * Multan Malka*

"*Sri Vasu Deva, king of Bāhman and Multan*"

Rev—Head of Sun god as on No 9

Indian legend to right—*Sri Vasu Deva* (reversed)

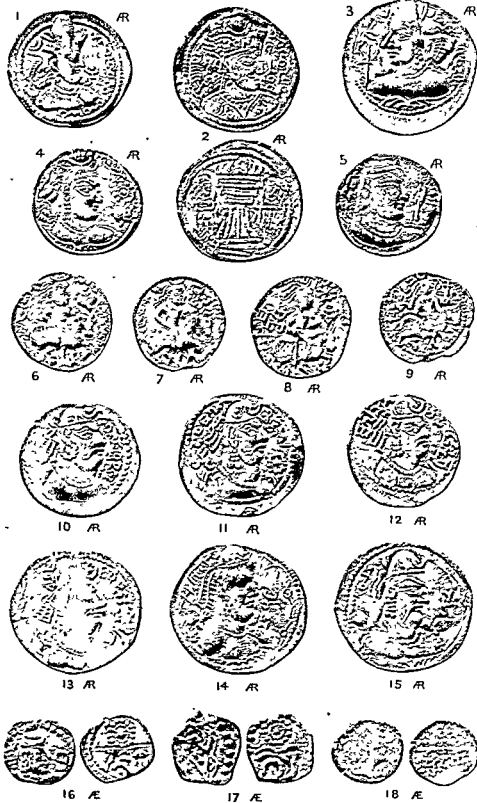
Pahlavi legend to left—*Tukan Zaulastan* (= India, Zabulistan).

Margin—*Sapardalakshkan = Sapadalaksha* (= Rajputana)

N B—I take *parda* to represent *pāda*, just as *Varsu = Vāsu*. On my other three coins, which I bought at the sale of the spare coins of the Masson Collection, there is a deeply stamped and well executed "boar's head." This may be seen in Wilson's plate, *Ariana Antiqua*, XVII 9. He has made a mistake about the boar's head, as he describes the countermark as containing "illegible characters" (p. 400).

Several of the *Vasu Deva* coins have the Indian legend written from right to left, as in

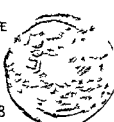
PLATE X			my coin given in the plate The coin in the British Museum has the name correctly written from left to right
No	Metal	Wt. Gra.	
11	Æ	66	British Museum, unique Beardless head of the king, three-quarter face, with a pair of small wings and two crescents on tiara, and large earring in ear, in the field to right, a small human figure lying on his back, with legs raised, and head also raised, and looking between his legs To left, Pahlavi legend, unread <i>Rev</i> —Rayed head of Sun god, as on Nos 9 and 10 Pahlavi legends Left— <i>Saparlakshan = Rajputana</i> Right— <i>Zaulistan = Zabulistan</i> Marginal legend not read











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